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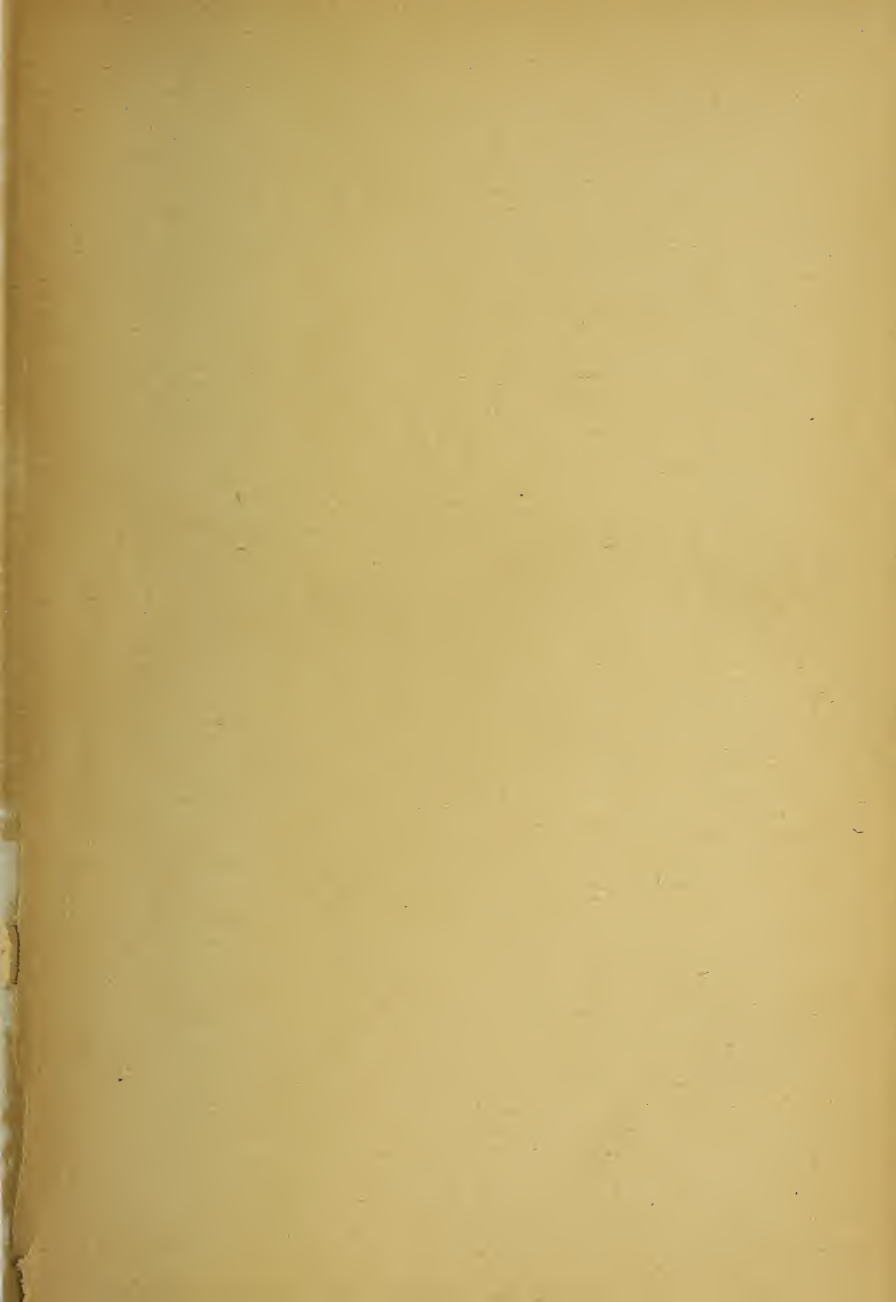
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THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE ON "TRUE AMERICANISM" BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OTHER MATERIAL BY

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HERBERT WELCH

GEO. WM. CURTIS

HENRY W. GRADY

JOHN H. VINCENT

HENRY CABOT LODGE

WILLIAM J. JACKMAN

AND OTHERS

VOLUME III

THE L. W. WALTER COMPANY
CHICAGO

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THE incoming administration was virtually pledged to continue the foreign policy of its predecessor, though that policy had not yet accomplished what its sanguine friends anticipated. The prediction of the Federalists—the conservative party of those days—that such measures would lead to a war with England, seemed to be near its fulfilment. The prospect was gloomy indeed. The nation was totally unprepared for such an event. Neither army nor navy to command respect; no munitions of war worthy the name; the defences of the seaboard almost worthless; the revenue, owing to the embargo and non-intercourse acts, much diminished and diminishing more and more. The President and his cabinet desired to relieve the country of these pressing evils.

To accomplish this end, negotiations were commenced with Erskine, the resident British Minister. The youthful Erskine was a generous and noble-hearted man; a

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CHAP. warm friend of the United States, unused to the tricks of
 XLII. diplomacy, he really wished to act generously for the in-
 1809. terests of both nations, and not selfishly for his own. He
 knew that Britain would derive great advantage from the
 renewal of trade with the United States, and hoped that
 the latter might be induced to take sides in the present
 struggle against France.

In accordance with the spirit of certain instructions, Erskine thought himself authorized to offer "a suitable provision for the widows and orphans of those who were killed on board the Chesapeake," and to announce the conditional repeal of the Orders in Council as far as they applied to the commerce of the United States. This repeal was to take place on the tenth of the following June.

1810. The President, on this assurance, issued a proclama-
 April. tion, giving permission for a renewal of commercial inter-
 course with Great Britain. The news was hailed with joy
 throughout the land. In a few weeks more than a thou-
 sand ships, laden with American produce, were on their
 way to foreign markets. This gleam of sunshine was soon
 obscured. Four months after the President issued another
 Aug. proclamation; he now recalled the previous one and again
 established non-intercourse between the two countries.

The British ministry had disavowed the provisional arrangement made by Erskine, giving as one reason that he had gone beyond his instructions. In the communication accepting Erskine's offer to provide for the sufferers in the Chesapeake affair, the provision was spoken of as an "act of justice comporting with what was due from his Britannic majesty to his own honor." This uncourt-
 - ous remark gave offence, and furnished another pre-
 text for breaking off the negotiation.

The failure of this arrangement, which had promised so much, greatly mortified the President and his cabinet, and as greatly wounded the self-respect of the nation. In consequence of this feeling, Jackson, the special envoy,

sent soon after by England, was not very graciously received. Negotiations were, however, commenced with him, but after exchanging angry notes for some months, all diplomatic intercourse was suspended between the two countries.

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American commerce had now less protection than ever. In the desperate conflict going on in Europe it was impossible to obtain redress from any of the belligerents. The ocean swarmed with French and English cruisers, while Danish privateers infested the northern seas. They all enjoyed a rich harvest in plundering American merchantmen, under the convenient pretence that they carried goods contraband of war. Great numbers of ships thus pillaged were burned at sea to destroy all traces of the robbery. Willing to trust to their own genius to escape capture, the American merchants asked permission to arm their ships in self-defence. Congress denied the request, on the ground that such a state of affairs would be war! The people, however, thought there was little to choose between actual war and a system of active legalized piracy. Even the planters and farmers, finding on their hands a vast amount of produce, for which a market was denied, were now inclined to strengthen the navy, that it might protect commerce, or if necessary make an irruption into Canada, and by that means compel Great Britain to repeal her odious decrees.

France in the mean time was committing greater outrages on American commerce than even England. Bonaparte issued a decree, the Rambouillet, by which any American vessel that entered a French port or a port of any country under French control, was declared liable to confiscation. It shows the deliberate design of this piratical decree, that it was not promulgated till six weeks after its date. The first intimation American merchants received of its existence, was the seizure of one hundred and thirty-two of their ships, in French ports. These

Mar.
23.

CHAP. were soon after sold with their cargoes, and the money,
XLII.
— amounting to eight millions of dollars, placed in the
1810. French treasury. Expostulations against such high-handed measures were treated with contempt and insult. The French minister of foreign affairs even charged the United States "with a want of honor, energy, and just political views," in not defending themselves. Bonaparte's great object was to drive them into a war with England, and thus exclude from her American produce. With this intention he pretended he would revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees, on condition the United States would make their rights respected, or in other words, go to war with England. At this time the only port in Europe really open to American commerce was that of Archangel in Russia. There American ships, after running the gauntlet between French and Danish cruisers, landed their cargoes of merchandise, which were thence smuggled into France and Germany.

Ere long Bonaparte's want of money mastered his hatred of England, and he unblushingly became the violator of his own decrees, and sold to the Americans, at enormous prices, licenses which gave them permission to introduce their products into French ports.

None felt the national insult given in the Chesapeake affair so deeply as the naval officers. They were anxiously watching for an opportunity to retaliate.

The frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, was cruising off the capes of Delaware, when a strange sloop-of-war gave chase, but when within a few miles, her signals not being answered, she stood to the southward. The *President* now in turn gave chase, and in the twilight of the evening came within hailing distance. Rodgers hailed, but was answered by the same question; another hail was given with a similar result. The stranger fired a gun, which was replied to by one from the *President*. These

were succeeded by broadsides from both vessels. The action lasted about twenty minutes, when the stranger was completely disabled. Rodgers hailed again, and now was answered that the vessel was his Majesty's sloop-of-war Little Belt. The disparity in the injury done to the respective vessels was quite remarkable. The Little Belt had more than thirty of her crew killed and wounded, while the President was scarcely injured, and had only one person slightly wounded. The affair created much excitement in both nations, and served to increase that alienation of feeling which had been so long in existence. The statements of the commanding officers differed very much as to the commencement of the encounter, but as each government accepted the testimony of its own officers, the matter was permitted to drop.

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1810.
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16.

The census just taken, showed the following result:—the ratio of representation was fixed at thirty-five thousand:

Free Whites.	Slaves.	All others.	Totals.	Reps.
5,862,093.	1,191,364.	186,446.	7,239,903.	182.

Events of serious interest were occurring on the western frontier. Numbers of Indian tribes from time to time had ceded their lands and moved farther west. But the insatiable white man still pressed on; his cultivated fields still encroached upon the Indian's hunting-grounds, and game was fast disappearing. When is this grasping at land to end? asked the savages of each other. Two brothers, twins, of the Shawnee tribe, resolved to free their brethren from the aggressions of the settlers. Their plans were well laid, and showed an intimate knowledge of the secret of influence. The one, Tecumseh, was to play the warrior's part, the other Elskwatawa, more commonly known as the Prophet, appealed to their superstitions; he professed to be a wonderful medicine-man, and in communication with the Great Spirit.

Tecumseh travelled from tribe to tribe, all along the

CHAP. frontiers, from north of the great lakes to the Gulf of
XII. Mexico, and by his eloquence endeavored to unite them
1811. in a universal conspiracy against the common enemy. He knew the attempt to expel the invaders would be vain, but he hoped his people would unite as one man, and refuse to sell them any more of their lands. To accomplish their purpose the Indians must be independent; they must dispense with the few comforts they received from the white man, and they must spurn the religion which missionaries had been laboring to teach them. The Prophet fulfilled his part, he awed his simple auditors with imposing powwows; the Great Spirit had given him marvellous powers. He could at a word make pumpkins, as large as wigwams, spring out of the earth; or ears of corn, each large enough to feed a dozen men; he appealed to their reverence for the customs of their ancestors, and sneered at their degradation in being the slave of the white man's whiskey, or fire-water, as he significantly called it. He must be obeyed—they must throw aside the blanket and dress in skins; instead of the gun they must use the ancient bow and arrow; and the iron tomahawk must give place to the stone hatchet of their fathers; but above all, they must discard the religion of the white man; it was the rejection of their ancient religion, which made the Great Spirit so angry.

Alarm spread along the frontier settlements. The Miamis had sold a portion of their lands on both sides of the Wabash. Tecumseh was absent at the time, but protested afterward, contending that as all the lands belonged equally to all the Indians, no tribe had a right to sell a portion of them without the consent of the others.

General William Henry Harrison, the Governor of the Territory of Indiana, held a conference with Tecumseh, who at the time professed to be friendly, but his conduct afterward excited suspicion. Lest the Indians should unexpectedly commence hostilities, Harrison marched to

the town lately established by the Prophet, at the junction of the Wabash and Tippecanoe rivers. Messengers sent by the Prophet met the army a few miles from the town. Though Indians were hovering around the army on its march, yet efforts to hold a conference with them had thus far been unsuccessful. The messengers expressed great surprise that the Americans should approach their town, since the Prophet and his people were very desirous of peace. Harrison assured them that he had no intention to engage in hostilities, unless they themselves should attack him, and he invited the Prophet and his chiefs to an interview the next day. The messengers departed apparently pleased with the proposal, and on their part promised full compliance.

Knowing the Indian character, Harrison suspected treachery, and encamped with great caution; his men, placed in a hollow square, slept upon their arms. The next morning, about four o'clock, the Indians suddenly attacked the camp, but failed to break the line. For three hours the contest was very severe. The Indians would advance with great impetuosity, and then retreat to renew the effort. These movements were regulated by signals given by rattling deers' hoofs. When daylight appeared, the mounted men charged, and the savages fled in great haste. The next day the Prophet's town was found to be deserted. Tecumseh himself was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe.

Nov.
7.

The belligerents of Europe still continued their aggressions upon American commerce. Recent intelligence from France indicated but little prospect of obtaining redress for present grievances, while the impressment question made the affairs with Great Britain still more complicated. Differences of opinion prevailed, as to the best means of obtaining justice for these foreign aggressions. The people of New England, and the merchants of the

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CHAP. commercial cities and seaports of the other States, felt
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1811. especially aggrieved by the policy of the national government. The embargo and non-importation acts had ruined their commerce, and brought distress upon tens of thousands. Upon them, almost alone, had fallen the evils resulting from these political experiments. The people of the West, and of the interior of the Atlantic States, were in favor of hostilities; their territory would be exempt from invasion, and they had no seaport towns to suffer from bombardment. Thus there were really two parties, the one in favor of obtaining redress by peaceful measures, the other by resorting to war.

Nov. In view of these threatening indications, the President, by proclamation, convened the twelfth Congress a month earlier than the usual time of meeting. This
4. Congress and the one succeeding are no less remarkable for the measures they introduced than for the unusual number of their members, who afterward filled a large space in the history of the country. It was a transition period. The patriots of the revolution, now venerable with age, were fast passing away from the councils of the nation, while their places were filled by more youthful members. Heretofore the leaders in Congress had been moderate in their measures, and were unwilling, unless for the best of reasons, to plunge the nation into a war.

As a member of the House of Representatives, appeared Henry Clay, of Kentucky. The son of a Baptist clergyman of Virginia, he had been left at an early age a penniless orphan. Struggling through many trials, his native eloquence had now placed him in the foremost rank of his country's orators. Ardent and generous, bland and yet imperious, as captivating in social life as he was frank in his public acts, he was destined to wield a mighty influence in the councils of the nation. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was also a member; the close student and ardent theorist, dealing in first principles, he was

logical and eloquent. His style more suited to forensic debates than to popular assemblies.

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The President, in his message, directed the attention of Congress to the threatening aspect of Foreign Relations. This led to animated debates, in which the policy of peace or war; the defences of the country; the preliminary measures in case of a declaration of hostilities, came up for discussion. The speeches of the members may be taken as the exponents of the opinions of their constituents. The people of the West were especially clamorous for war. The recent outbreak of the Indians, on the western frontiers, was confidently attributed to the influence of British emissaries. This charge, though based upon surmises, served to increase the prejudice against England, and gave renewed life to the hatred of her produced by the Revolution.

Finally, the Committee of Foreign Relations, in their report to the House, recommended, in the words of the President, "That the United States be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis; that an additional force of ten thousand regulars be raised; that the President be authorized to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers; and also that the vessels of the navy worthy of repair be fitted up and put in commission." Two separate resolutions were offered; one authorized the merchants to arm in self-defence, and the other, as a preliminary to war, to lay an embargo for ninety days. After an animated discussion these were both rejected.

Dec.

Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, avowed that the report of the Committee was designed to prepare the public mind for war. "We are pledged," said he, "to France to continue our restrictions against Great Britain; we have tied the Gordian knot; we cannot untie it; we can cut it with the sword." "Though our restrictive system operates unequally, we must maintain it." He also advo-

CHAP. cated the invasion and conquest of Canada, and the re-
XLII. ception of her inhabitants as members of the confederacy,
1811. in order to preserve the equilibrium of the government.
Dec. "When Louisiana," said he, "will be fully peopled, the
Northern States will lose their power; they will be at the
discretion of others; they can be depressed at pleasure."
Therefore he was not only in favor of admitting Canada,
but also Florida.

John Randolph, of Virginia, in that sarcastic manner peculiar to himself, characterized the embargo and non-importation acts as most impolitic and ruinous measures—they had "knocked down the price of cotton to seven cents and tobacco to nothing," while they had increased the price of every article of first necessity three or four hundred per cent. This is the condition into which we have brought ourselves by our want of wisdom. But is war the true remedy; who will profit by it? Speculators, commissioners and contractors. Who must suffer by it? The people. It is their blood, their taxes, that must flow to support it. Will you plunge the nation into war, because you have passed a foolish and ruinous law, and are ashamed to repeal it?

He indignantly repelled the charge of British attachment made against those who were not willing to rush into war with England. "Strange," said he, "that we have no objection to any other people or government, civilized or savage; we find no difficulty in maintaining relations of peace and amity with the Autocrat of all the Russias; with the Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates, or Little Turtle of the Miamis, barbarians and savages, Turks and infidels of every clime and color, with them we can trade and treat. But name England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her; against those whose blood runs in our veins, in common with whom we claim Shakspeare and Milton, Newton and Locke, Sidney and Chatham, as brethren. Her form of

government, the freest on earth, except our own, and from which every valuable principle of our institutions has been borrowed. There are honest prejudices growing out of the Revolution. But by whom had they been suppressed when they ran counter to the interests of his country? By Washington. By whom are they most keenly felt? By those who have fled to this abused country since the breaking out of the French revolution, and who have set themselves up as political teachers." This was in allusion to the editors of nearly all the papers in favor of war, who were foreigners—"these are the patriots who scruple not to brand with the epithet of Tory, those men by whose blood your liberties have been cemented."

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Henry Clay urged, in reply, that the only means left to obtain the recognition of our national rights was to fight for them. A war would produce the repeal of the Orders in Council, and give us commerce and character; the nation by this mongrel peace would not only lose its commerce, but its honor. If we yield one point, presently another will be demanded; our only safety is to defend the nation's rights;—even if the seaboard should be subdued, yet the energy of the West would save the liberties of the country. Shall we bear the cuffs and scoffs of British arrogance, because we fear French subjugation? Who ever learned, in the school of base submission, the lessons of noble freedom, and courage, and independence!"

Sept.
5.

On the other side of the House, it was admitted that causes for war existed, but were they sufficient to justify the government of the United States in rushing unprepared into a contest with the most powerful nation on earth? This was the question to be decided by Congress. "What are we to gain by war?" asked Sheffey of Virginia. "Shall we throw away a trade of thirty-two millions with Great Britain for two with France? Peace is our policy; we are now the most prosperous and happy people on earth. This is more to us, than all the Orders

CHAP. XLII. in Council or the trade with France. We cannot bring
 ——— Great Britain to terms by embargo and non-importation
 1811. acts; neither can we starve the world by refusing to export our surplus grain. Our revenue is low enough now, in time of war it will be almost nothing. We should be willing to fight for the rights of impressed native-born Americans, but not for the right to harbor deserters from the British service.”—“Is this embargo a preparation for war?” asked Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts. “We have no information that England intends war. It is her policy to continue commerce with us, not to destroy it. But we are told that the object is to protect our merchants. Heaven help them from embargo protection! The merchants have petitioned—not for embargo—not for commercial embarrassment and annihilation—but for protection.”

1812. While these debates were in progress in the House, the same general subject was under discussion in the Senate. In both Houses an unusual number of southern members were now in favor of making the navy more efficient. It was urged that the only way to bring Great Britain to terms was by harassing her commerce on the ocean. To do this a fleet was needed. “Create a fleet of thirty frigates,” said Lloyd, of Massachusetts, “and New England alone will officer it in five weeks.” “How can we contend with the most colossal power the world ever saw, except by our navy, scattered over the ocean, requiring ten times as many British vessels to watch them? Adopt this policy, and soon the English people would ask their government, Why this war upon our trade? why violate the rights of Americans? ¹ For whose benefit is this war? Soon you will force the people of the United States to

¹ “They (the Orders in Council) were grievously unjust to neutrals, and it is now (1850) generally allowed that they were contrary to the law of nations, and to our own municipal laws.”—Lord Chief Justice Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 218.

become their own manufacturers; you will stimulate them to become a naval power, which one day may dispute with you the supremacy of the ocean." "In a short time the English government would be compelled to repeal its odious decrees." "To protect commerce is to aid agriculture, to benefit the northern as well as the middle and southern States. Moreover, it is essential to the preservation of the Union; the commercial States will not endure that their rights should be systematically trampled upon from year to year, and they denied the defence which the God of nature has given them."

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The discussions of these five months had a great influence upon the public mind. Though unwilling to use harsher measures than to authorize the merchants to defend themselves by arming their ships, the President sent a special message to Congress recommending an embargo for sixty days. The bill was amended by substituting ninety for sixty, in which form it passed, debate being cut short by the rule of the previous question.

April
4.

One month and a half later, intelligence from France made known that Bonaparte, in violation of his word, had declared the obnoxious decrees of Berlin and Milan henceforth the settled policy of the Empire. Thus the Emperor had entrapped the President. But England was as much in the wrong as France, and if so, why not declare war against both?—It was openly avowed in Parliament that the offensive decrees and blockades must be maintained, or France could receive raw material from the United States; continue her manufactures, and thus obtain the means to carry on the war. Great Britain also wished to secure for her own people the monopoly of commerce, as well as that of manufacturing for the world.

June.

The President finally sent another message to Congress, in which he recapitulated the wrongs inflicted by England in her impressments and violations of the rights of neutrals. This was plainly a war message, and in accord-

CHAP. XLII. ance with that view, a bill was drawn up declaring war
 against Great Britain. It was passed by a strictly party
 1812. vote:—in the House 79 to 49, in the Senate 19 to 13.
 June

18.

The people were far from being unanimous in their approbation of the declaration of war. The minority of the Lower House of Congress published an address to their constituents, in which the views of those opposed to the war found expression. After a review of the controversy between the United States and the belligerents, they contend there was equal cause for hostilities against both England and France; that it was unreasonable to expect the full recognition of neutrals' rights while the desperate conflict in Europe was in progress; that conflict would soon end, and then the cause for war on our part would be removed. The Address says, "The effect of the British orders of blockade, is to deprive us of the commerce of France and her dependencies, while they leave open to us the commerce of all the rest of the world; the former worth yearly about six millions and a half, and the latter worth thirty-eight millions. Shall the latter be sacrificed for the former? A nation like the United States, happy in its great local relations; removed from that bloody theatre of Europe, with a maritime border opening vast fields of enterprise; with territorial possessions exceeding every real want; its firesides safe; its altars undefiled; from invasion nothing to fear; from acquisition nothing to hope, how shall such a nation look to Heaven for its smiles, while throwing away as though they were worthless, all the blessings and joys which peace and such a distinguished lot include? But how will war upon the land protect commerce? How are our mariners to be benefited by a war which exposes those who are free, without promising release to those who are impressed? But it is said that war is demanded by honor. If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France?"

Such was the diversity of opinion as to the expediency of engaging in war, especially when the country, in every respect, was so unprepared. The opponents of the measure were assailed as unpatriotic, which they retorted by charging the advocates of war with subserviency to the policy of France.

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It was easier for Congress to declare war, than to obtain the means to prosecute it. The treasury was almost empty, the non-importation acts, and embargoes, had nearly ruined the revenue; the army was very limited in number, and very deficient in officers of experience; while the navy was wanting in ships and munitions. Congress passed a bill to enlist twenty-five thousand men as regulars, and authorized the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers.

In appointing officers for the army, recourse was had, almost exclusively, to those who had served in the Revolution; but the most prominent of these had passed away, and the remainder, with but one or two exceptions, had been engaged in civil affairs for thirty years; and men competent to drill the recruits were not to be found. To remedy this want, Congress, now for the first time, made provision for the constant and liberal instruction of two hundred and fifty cadets in the military art, by establishing professorships in the Academy at West Point. Here was another instance of the foresight of Washington. He had, during his administration, urged upon Congress to establish and maintain a school in which military tactics should be taught to officers, who in turn could easily drill the militia. The wise policy of the measure was amply shown in the rapidity with which the American volunteers were drilled and made efficient soldiers in the late Mexican war. But for the present the nation suffered severely from false economy in not founding the Academy when first proposed.

1846.

The first exhibition of the war spirit and the party

CHAP. feeling which existed was an attempt to stifle the freedom
XLII. of the press. The editor of a paper in Baltimore, Alex-
1812. ander Hanson, a grandson of a president of the continental
June congress, had spoken in moderate terms in condemnation
22. of the declaration of war. A few days after, the mob,
headed by a Frenchman, destroyed his press and compelled
him to fly for his life. Receiving no protection in his
rights, as the magistrates connived at the outrage, Han-
son and some twenty others thought it their duty to vin-
dicate the liberty of the press. Among this number were
General Henry Lee,—the chivalric Light Horse Harry of
the Revolution,—the intimate friend of Washington, his
eulogist by appointment of Congress, afterward Governor
of Virginia, and General Lingan, also a worthy officer of
the Revolution. They determined to defend the office of
the paper. The mob appeared and stoned the house; the
magistrates meanwhile made no effort to quell the riot.
Thus the rabble raged during the night; in their attempts
to force their way into the house, one of the ringleaders
was shot. General Lingan was killed outright, and some
of the other defenders of the office were most shamefully
mangled and abused. General Lee was maimed for life.
The leaders of the riot were never punished, though
afterwards brought to trial,—a mere farce,—the district
attorney even expressing his regret that all the defenders
of the office had not been killed.

General William Hull, who had served with some dis-
tinction in the Revolution, and now Governor of Michigan
Territory, was appointed commander of the forces in that
region. The Territory contained about five thousand in-
habitants, mostly of French origin. He received orders to
invade Canada, the ardent friends of the war complacently
thinking the inhabitants of that British province would
cheerfully put themselves under the protection of the
stars and stripes. Hull, however, found himself in a short
time surrounded by a superior force of British and In-

dians; the enemy also held possession of Lake Erie, and had easy communication with the rest of Canada, while between Hull's army and the settlements, intervened a vast and unbroken forest of two hundred miles. He urged upon the government to secure the command of the Lake before any attempt should be made at invasion, and also to furnish him not less than three thousand well provisioned troops. But he was told that he must content himself with two thousand men, while nothing could be done to secure the control of the Lake.

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When Hull arrived at DETROIT, then a village of some eight hundred inhabitants, he had but eighteen hundred men, of whom the greater part were militia; there he received orders to invade Canada immediately. But by a strange blunder, the intelligence of the declaration of war, designed for Hull, and franked by the Secretary of the Treasury, fell into the hands of the British. They availed themselves of the information, and immediately seized Mackinaw; the first intimation the garrison of that distant post received of the declaration of war. In a short time Hull himself was surrounded, and his communications cut off.

July
9.

The British general Proctor came up the Lake with reinforcements, whilst the British Fur Company enlisted their employees and excited the Indians. To open a road and obtain supplies, Hull sent out a detachment, but it fell into an ambuscade and was defeated. He now fortified himself, and to open communications to the river Raisin, sent another detachment under Colonels McArthur and Cass; they became bewildered in a swamp, and were forced to find their way back to the camp.

Aug.
14.

Presently General Brock, governor of Lower Canada, arrived at Malden with more reinforcements. He passed over the river and summoned Hull to surrender, who refused, and an attack was made upon his position from the British vessels and batteries. Brock then approached with seven hundred and fifty men.

CHAP. many Indians. Hull had but eight hundred men, and,
XLII.
1812. threatened with destruction, as he imagined, by an over-
whelming force, he surrendered his army and all Michi-
Aug. gan at the same time.
16.

Great indignation was expressed at this failure. The difficulties of Hull's position were very great, and perhaps, while no one doubted his personal courage, he may have wanted that sternness of soul so necessary to a successful commander. Those in authority screened themselves, by making the unfortunate general the scape-goat for their blunders, in sending him with a force and means so inadequate. When brought to trial, two years afterward, he urged in defence, that all the inhabitants of the territory would have been exposed to certain massacre had he attempted further resistance. The court, however, found him guilty of cowardice, and sentenced him to be shot; but in consideration of his revolutionary services, the President granted him a pardon. His papers, since published, have revealed the insurmountable difficulties that surrounded him.

It is remarkable that one of the causes of the war, was removed within four days after its declaration. France unconditionally repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees, then Great Britain repealed her Orders in Council, which had been based on the French decrees. The impressment question still remained unsettled. Nearly six thousand cases of alleged impressment were on record in the State Department at Washington. It was admitted on the floor of the House of Commons, that there were probably sixteen hundred native-born Americans held in bondage in the British navy. Of these several hundred had already been liberated, and a willingness was expressed to discharge the remainder, as soon as their nationality was ascertained. But the British naval officers complained that the proof of American citizenship was very much hampered by the want of documents, or by certificates, originally

genuine, but transferred from one seaman to another as occasion required. The English government, moreover, was so trammelled by forms that very seldom could the impressed sailor obtain redress; all such cases must be brought before the Court of Admiralty in London, to reach which was almost impossible.

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This, after all, was to be a war to protect personal freedom; to obtain security from the visits to our ships of British press-gangs, led by insolent officers, and as such took hold of the sympathies of the American people. But Britain said, pass a law prohibiting our seamen from enlisting in your service, and we will not search your ships. The reply was, the flag of the United States must shield those seeking its protection. This sentiment appeared to England very like an effort to seduce her seamen from their allegiance.

When intelligence of the declaration of war reached England, the government acted generously in relation to the American vessels in its ports. Instead of being confiscated as in France, these ships were permitted six weeks to load and unload, and in addition were furnished with protections against capture by English cruisers on their way home. Yet these very vessels and their cargoes were liable to confiscation, when they should arrive in their own land, and that by a law of Congress!

Aug.

As one of the causes of the war had been removed, Foster, the British Minister at Washington, proposed a cessation of hostilities until another effort should be made to arrange the impressment question. This propossal was not accepted by the American government. Not until all hope of reconciliation was passed, did the English authorities issue letters of marque and reprisal against American commerce; and they still continued to grant licenses and protection to American vessels carrying flour to Spain for the use of the British armies in that country.

Hull's surrender threw a shadow over the prospect of

CHAP. conquering Canada. Strenuous efforts were made to in-
XLII. crease the army on the frontiers of New York. Major

1812. General Dearborn, who, when a youth, had served in the Revolution, and had been Secretary of War, under Jefferson, had under his command, in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, five thousand troops, three thousand of whom were regulars ; and two thousand militia were stationed at different points on the St. Lawrence, east of Sackett's Harbor, while another army, miscellaneous in character, being composed of regulars, volunteers and militia, was stationed at different points from the village of Buffalo to Fort Niagara. The latter troops were under the command of General Van Rensselaer.

Sept. To insure success the Americans must have the control of the Lakes Erie and Ontario; on the latter they had already a little sloop-of-war, of sixteen guns, and manned by a regular crew. Captain Chauncey, of the navy yard at New York, was appointed to the command of the Lakes. He purchased some merchant vessels, and fitted them out with guns and other equipments, brought from Albany, at an immense amount of labor. He soon however swept the Lake of British ships, which took refuge in Kingston harbor; the Frontenac of the times of French rule in that quarter. Lieutenant Elliot, in the mean time, was sent to equip a fleet on Lake Erie. By a daring exploit he cut out from under the guns of Fort Erie, two British armed vessels, which had just come
 Oct. 9. down the Lake from Detroit.

The invasion of Canada commenced by an attempt to obtain possession of Queenstown, on Niagara river. Owing to a deficiency of boats, only about six hundred men, partly regulars and partly militia, passed over. Colonel S. Van Rensselaer, who commanded the militia, became separated from his men, and Colonel Christie, who commanded the regulars, failed on account of the rapidity of the current to reach the shore. Those who landed were

immediately attacked with great vigor. Rensselaer soon fell, wounded, but he ordered Captains Ogilvie and Wool to storm the battery, which they did in fine style, driving the British into a strong stone house, from which they could not be dislodged. General Brock, the same to whom Hull surrendered a few months before, was in command. Suddenly he headed a sortie from this house, which was promptly repulsed, and he himself slain.

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13.

During this time, a space of five or six hours, the Americans were striving to pass the river, but only five or six hundred succeeded. Suddenly a band of Indians emerged from the woods, and joined in the fray; these were soon put to flight by Lieutenant Winfield Scott, who, with a company of regulars, volunteered for the purpose. The want of boats, and the want of system, had prevented a suitable number of Americans from passing over. In the mean while General Sheafe was advancing from Fort George, with reinforcements for the British. This intelligence, together with the sight of the wounded, who were brought in boats to the American side, somewhat cooled the ardor of the militia, and they refused to pass the river to aid their countrymen. Their wits were also sharpened, and they suddenly discovered that their commander had no constitutional authority to lead them into Canada. The result was, that those who had gone over, about one thousand in number, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. General Van Rensselaer, mortified at the want of spirit manifested on the occasion, resigned his command in disgust.

Inefficiency reigned in triumph all along the frontier. An expedition against Detroit, under the command of Harrison, was abandoned for want of means. The volunteers from Kentucky, as well as others, became mutinous and refused to advance. One failure followed another in rapid succession. The officers were quarrelling among

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1812. themselves, charging each other with cowardice and fighting bloodless duels, while the soldiers deserted in bands, and those who remained were insubordinate. These failures were unsparingly ridiculed in the newspapers opposed to the war.

1807. Soon after the establishment of the Government the religious portion of the people began to inquire as to their duty in sending the Gospel to the heathen of other lands. Samuel J. Mills and some other students of Williams College consecrated themselves to the work of foreign missions. A monument—a marble shaft surmounted by a globe—in Mills Park, just outside the village, marks the spot where these students met behind a haystack to confer with each other and consecrate themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen. The result was the
1810. formation of the American Board of Missions, which has had a remarkable success in extending the knowledge of the Gospel and introducing a Christian civilization in remote heathen lands. This Society was specially patronized by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians; the latter, after twenty-one years of co-operation, withdrew
1833. and formed the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Meanwhile other denominations entered with zeal upon the work—the Baptists (1814), the Methodist Episcopal (1819), Reformed Dutch Church (1832), Protestant Episcopal (1835), and afterward others; in all fifteen societies were formed. Under the control of these societies the missionaries and native teachers whom they have trained
1882. now number many thousands. The exertions of these devoted men have been crowned with remarkable success; they have displayed much practical wisdom in the management of the missions, and have translated the Scriptures into the languages of the various people with whom they labored. For these evidences of their scholarship and their enlightened zeal they have oftentimes received the commendations and thanks of European educated men and statesmen.

CHAPTER XLIII.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The Vessels of the Navy.—The chase of the Constitution.—Capture of the Alert.—The Guerrière.—Incidents.—The Macedonian.—The Frolic.—The Java.—The effects of these Naval Conflicts in the United States and England.—Plan of Operations.—Harrison advances on Detroit.—General Winchester a Prisoner; Indian Barbarities.—The Kentuckians fall into an Ambuscade.—Repulse at Fort Stephenson.—The loss of the Chesapeake.—Perry's Victory.—Battle of the Thames.—Andrew Jackson.—Leads an Expedition; its Termination.—York captured; Death of General Pike.—Wilkinson transferred to the North.—Another attempt to conquer Canada.—Fort George destroyed; Newark burned.—The severe Retaliation.—The American Coast blockaded.—Ravages on the Shores of Chesapeake Bay.—Indian War in the South.—Jackson and others in the Field.—Battle at the Great Horse Shoe.—Captain Porter's Cruise.

WHILE the disasters recorded in the last chapter were in progress, the despised little navy had won laurels, by a series of victories as unexpected as they were glorious. 1812. When the war commenced, the whole navy of the United States in commission, consisted of only three first-class frigates; the President, the Constitution, and the United States; of the second class two, the Congress and the Essex; the Wasp and Hornet, sloops-of-war; and the brigs Argus, Syren, Nautilus, Enterprise, and Vixen. The second class frigates Chesapeake, Constellation, and John Adams, were undergoing repairs. The fleet was ordered to assemble at New York to be in readiness to defend harbors, and not to venture to sea, lest it should

CHAP.
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CHAP. fall in the hands of the enemy; a result which had been
XLIII. predicted again and again. Owing to the urgent re-
1812. monstrances of Captains Stewart and Bainbridge, the
intention of thus withdrawing the navy was abandoned.
Within a few hours after the declaration of war was known
in New York, a portion of the fleet was passing out to sea,
in search of the enemy. This prompt movement was
made for the double purpose of avoiding the orders, which
the officers suspected were on the way from Washington,
to detain them in the harbor, and to make a dash at the
Jamaica fleet, said to be passing under convoy off the
coast. When two days out, they chased and exchanged
shots with the British frigate *Belvidera*, which, however,
escaped and carried the news of the commencement of
hostilities to Halifax. The Americans continued the pur-
suit of the Jamaica fleet, even to the entrance of the
British Channel, but without overtaking it.

Meanwhile a British squadron issued from Halifax, to
cruise off the port of New York. The *Constitution*, better
known as *Old Ironsides*, commanded by Captain Isaac
Hull, in endeavoring to enter that port fell in with this
fleet, and was chased by all its vessels for four days—the
most remarkable chase on record. The unexampled skill
with which she was managed, elicited universal admira-
July. tion. Every nautical device was exhausted; such as
during a calm carrying out anchors and dropping them,
and then pulling the ship up; in the mean while, when op-
portunity served, exchanging shots with her adversaries.
Finally she escaped into Boston. Orders from Washing-
ton were sent to Captain Hull to remain there; but he
anticipated them, and put to sea before they arrived.

The *Essex* was the first to capture a prize—a trans-
port filled with soldiers—and shortly after, the British
sloop-of-war *Alert*. The latter mistook the *Essex* for a
merchantman, and came on expecting an easy victory, but

found herself so severely handled, that in a few minutes she was fain to strike her colors. CHAP.
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Off the mouth of the St. Lawrence, Captain Hull fell in with the British frigate *Guerrière*, one of the fleet which had recently chased him. The *Guerrière* was on the look-out for "Yankee craft;" on one of her flags was the inscription, Not the Little Belt. Courting the combat, she shortened sail, and at long range opened upon the approaching *Constitution*; the latter did not fire a gun, but manœuvred to obtain a desirable position. Thus an hour and a half was consumed. When the *Constitution* secured her position, she poured in her broadsides with such rapidity and effect, that the enemy struck his colors in thirty minutes. So completely was the *Guerrière* cut to pieces, that it was impossible to bring her into port, and Hull ordered her to be burned. The *Guerrière* had seventy-nine killed and wounded, while the *Constitution* had only seven, and was ready for action the next day. In connection with this encounter may be related two incidents, which show the spirit on board the respective ships. When the *Constitution* came within cannon-shot, the opening fire from the *Guerrière* killed two men. The men were impatient to avenge their companions, and Lieutenant Morris came on deck, and asked, "Can we return the fire, sir?" "No, sir," calmly replied Hull. Soon after, Morris came again, and reported that another man was slain, and asked again, "Shall we return the fire?" "No, sir," was still the reply. For the third time, Morris soon appeared: "Can we fire *now*?" Hull, pausing a moment to survey the position of the ships, replied, "Yes, sir, you may *fire* now." The order was promptly obeyed, and Hull, with his eye intently fixed upon the enemy, exclaimed, when he saw the effect, "That ship is ours!"

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19.

On board the *Guerrière* were ten impressed Americans. They refused to fight against their countrymen, and were ordered below. One of them was afterward called upon

CHAP. XLIII. deck, and asked by Captain Dacres if he knew the character of the approaching ship. He answered she was a

1812. frigate. As she drew nearer, and merely manœuvred, and made no reply with her guns, Dacres, somewhat puzzled, inquired again, "What does she mean? Do you think she is going to strike without firing a gun?" "I *guess* not, sir," replied the American; "she will get the position she wants, and you will then learn her intentions; with your permission, sir, I will step below."

Oct. 23. The United States, Captain Decatur, when cruising off the Azores, gave chase to a British frigate, which proved to be the Macedonian. A running fight commenced, which terminated by the Macedonian striking her colors, after losing one hundred out of her three hundred men, while the United States lost only five men and seven wounded. The other ships made several prizes on their cruise. The Argus escaped by superior seamanship, after being chased three days by six vessels, and took and manned a prize during the chase. The Wasp, Captain Jones, met the British brig Frolic, acting as a convoy for six merchantmen; to protect them she shortened sail and offered battle. The Wasp watched her opportunity, raked her antagonist, and then immediately boarded. The boarders found the deck of the Frolic covered with the slain, and only one man unhurt, who was calmly standing at the wheel, and one or two wounded officers, who threw down their swords. Not twenty of the crew were unhurt. The Wasp had only five killed and as many wounded. But before she could make sail, the Poitiers seventy-four came up, and took both vessels.

Oct. 13.

Hull resigned the command of the Constitution, and Bainbridge was appointed in his place. Off the coast of Brazil the Constitution gave chase to a British frigate, the Java. The fight began at the distance of a mile, and was continued with great spirit, each manœuvring to get the advantage. At length they approached so closely as

to fight yard-arm and yard-arm. The Java's masts were shot away, and her fire silenced. The Constitution drew off to repair her rigging, and then approached to renew the conflict, which the Java prevented by striking her flag. Nearly half of her men, numbering four hundred, were killed or wounded, while the Constitution had only nine killed and twenty-five wounded; among the latter was her commander. There being no friendly port in that part of the world to which he could take his prize, Bainbridge ordered her to be set on fire and blown up.

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1.

It is difficult to conceive the exultation with which these victories were hailed in the United States. The very great disparity in the losses sustained by the respective combatants had excited surprise in both nations. The English loss of men in killed and wounded, compared with that of the Americans, was as eight to one. There could be no doubt but the ships of the latter had been better managed and better fought. The English people, we learn from the newspapers of the day, were deeply mortified at the loss of their frigates. One of the papers asked, "Shall England, the mistress of the seas and dictator of the maritime law of nations, be driven from her proud eminence by a piece of striped bunting flying at the masts-heads of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws?" Some were thus abusive, but others were more respectful, and even found consolation in the fact that the Americans were the descendants of Englishmen. Says the London Times: "We witnessed the gloom which that event (the capture of the *Guerrière*) cast over high and honorable minds; it is not merely that an English frigate has been taken after a brave resistance, but it has been by a new enemy." And apprehensions were expressed that their maritime superiority was about to be challenged, if not taken away, by this new rival, which had so suddenly sprung into existence. "The mourning for this last most affecting event, (the capture

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of the Java,) can never be laid aside till the honor of the British flag shall be redeemed, by establishing the same triumphant superiority over the Americans that we have heretofore had over all the nations that traverse the seas. Five hundred British vessels and three frigates have been captured in seven months by the Americans. Can the English people hear this unmoved? Down to this moment not an American frigate has struck her flag. They insult and laugh at us; they leave their ports when they please; and return when it suits their convenience; they traverse the Atlantic; they beset the West India Islands; they advance to the very chops of the Channel; they parade along the coast of South America; nothing chases, nothing intercepts, nothing engages them, but yields to them a triumph."

To account for these unexampled victories, some said the American frigates were Seventy-fours in disguise; others that their guns were heavier than those of their opponents. The latter supposition may have been true to some extent. But national self-complacency found more consolation in the conjecture, that the spirit of the American navy ought to be imputed to the few runaway British sailors enlisted in it!

The American privateers maintained the honor of the nation as much as the regular navy. Much more would have been accomplished, but the majority of the merchants were loth to send privateers to prey upon the property of their commercial friends and correspondents. As it was, more than three hundred prizes were taken, three thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of merchandise.

Changes were made in the President's cabinet. General John Armstrong—the author of the famous Anonymous Address, at the close of the Revolution—was appointed Secretary of War in place of William Eustis, of Massachusetts, resigned. James Monroe still remained

at the head of the State Department, and Albert Gallatin at that of the Treasury, an office which he held under Jefferson.

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The surrender of Hull aroused the warlike spirit of the West, and volunteers presented themselves in great numbers. The Americans were divided into three armies. That of the west, at the head of Lake Erie, under General Harrison; that of the centre, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, under General Dearborn, and that of the north in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, under General Wade Hampton. A similar arrangement was made by the British. Sir George Prevost was in chief command of the forces in Canada, General Proctor commanded the troops stationed near Detroit, and General Sheafe those in the neighborhood of Montreal and the Sorel river.

To recover what Hull had lost, Harrison moved toward Detroit and Malden; meantime General Winchester advanced with eight hundred volunteers, chiefly young men from Kentucky. That State swarmed with soldiers, drawn from every rank in society. As he drew near the Maumee Rapids, Winchester learned that a body of British and Indians was in possession of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin. He sent a detachment, which routed the enemy, and maintained its position until he himself came up. When General Proctor learned of the approach of Winchester, he hastened across the lake on the ice from Malden, with fifteen hundred British and Indians, to cut him off, before Harrison could give aid. The attack was made on the American camp before daylight. In the midst of the confusion Winchester was taken prisoner. Proctor promised him security for the safety of his men, and thus induced him to surrender them as prisoners. Fearing the approach of Harrison, Proctor retreated as rapidly as possible to Malden, and in violation of his pledges, he left the wounded Americans.

Jan.
22.

The Indians turned back and murdered great num-

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bers of them, and carried the remainder to Detroit; for some of these they demanded enormous ransoms, and others they reserved for tortures. The conduct of Proctor, in thus breaking his word, and violating the principles of common humanity, excited against the enemy the bitterest feelings of revenge. "Remember the Raisin!" became the war-cry of the Kentuckians.

Harrison advanced to the rapids, and there established a post, which in honor of the Governor of Ohio, he named Fort Meigs. There he was besieged, in the course of a few months, by a large force of British and their Indian allies. Learning that General Green Clay, of Kentucky, was descending the Maumee with twelve hundred men in boats, Harrison sent orders for half the men to land and seize the enemy's batteries on the north side of the river, spike their guns, and then come to the Fort, whence a sortie was to be made against the main batteries on the south side. The first order was fulfilled, and the British routed; but instead of hastening to the Fort, the Kentuckians became unmanageable and pursued a few Indians, who led them into an ambuscade prepared by the cunning Tecumseh. They were in turn routed by the Indians and a detachment of British soldiers, and of the Kentuckians only about one hundred and fifty escaped. Nevertheless Proctor was alarmed; the force of the Americans was unknown, and as the Indians began to desert, May. he commenced a hurried retreat across the lake to Malden.

Two months after, Proctor again appeared before Fort Meigs, now under the command of Clay. Not able to take it, and having learned that Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, had a small garrison, Proctor left Tecumseh with his Indians to besiege Fort Meigs, while he himself went against Fort Stephenson. This fort had a garrison of only one hundred and sixty young men, commanded by Major George Croghan, a youth in his twenty-second year. When summoned to surrender, he replied that he

should defend the fort till the last man was buried in its ruins. The siege commenced, and when a breach was made, the British regulars, at the word of their Colonel, who cried out, "Come on, give the Yankees no quarter," rushed to the assault. As they crowded into the ditch, the only cannon in the fort opened from a masked port hole. The gun was loaded with a double charge of musket balls; the effect was terrific, the enemy fled in confusion, and abandoned the siege. The Indians at the first repulse deserted, as usual.

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Aug.

Meanwhile there had been other conflicts at sea. Captain James Lawrence, in command of the *Hornet*, had captured the *Peacock* off the coast of South America. The ships were equal in size and equipments. The action lasted but fifteen minutes. The *Peacock* raised signals of distress, for she was sinking rapidly, and in spite of the efforts of both crews she went down, carrying with her some of her own men and three of the *Hornet's*. On his return, Lawrence was appointed to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then in Boston harbor, undergoing repairs and enlisting a crew.

Feb.
23.

The British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, had appeared off the harbor as if offering a challenge. The impetuous Lawrence put to sea, notwithstanding the deficiency of his crew, some of whom were much dissatisfied on account of back arrearages of prize money of a former cruise. The ship was also deficient in officers, the first lieutenant being unable from illness to go on board. The contest was witnessed by thousands from the hills and house tops. When the ships met, the *Chesapeake* became entangled with the *Shannon* in such a manner as to be exposed to a raking fire. Lawrence, mortally wounded at the commencement of the battle, was carried below. This created confusion for a few minutes, and Broke noticing that the fire had slackened, promptly gave orders to board, leading the men himself. The American

June.

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boarders had just been called, and but few of them were yet upon deck; after a hand to hand fight, the Chesapeake's colors were hauled down. The captor sailed immediately to Halifax. There Captain Lawrence died. He was buried with military honors and marks of respect. Afterward his remains were removed to New York. His last command, "Don't give up the ship," has become the watchword in the American navy.

The rejoicings in England over the capture of the Chesapeake were so great as to become highly complimentary to the Americans, to whom they were as gratifying as if the Shannon had been captured. It was an unequivocal evidence of the respect that the navy had inspired.

The same spirit which had done so much honor to the nation on the ocean, displayed itself on the lakes. The random incursions of undisciplined volunteers accomplished nothing until the control of the lakes was secured. A youthful lieutenant in the United States navy, Oliver Hazard Perry, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, volunteered for that service. Commodore Chauncey appointed him to the command of the fleet on Lake Erie. After much labor, Perry built and fitted out at the port of Erie, nine vessels of various sizes, from one carrying twenty-five guns down to those which carried only one. The American fleet had altogether fifty-five guns; the British had six vessels carrying sixty-three guns. The number of men was about five hundred in each fleet. Owing to the direction of the wind at the commencement of the battle, Perry's flag ship, the Lawrence, was exposed to the concentrated fire of the enemy's entire fleet, and in a short time she was made a complete wreck. As the wind increased, the remaining ships were enabled to come up. Leaping into a boat, and in the midst of flying balls, Perry now transferred his flag, which bore the motto "Don't give up the ship," to the next largest vessel, the Niagara. When passing through the enemy's line he

poured in broadsides, right and left, within pistol-shot. The other American vessels closed, and in less than an hour every British ship had surrendered. The hero announced the result to General Harrison, in the memorable despatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

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1813.

Sept.
10.

Harrison hastened to profit by the victory, and to lead his men against Detroit and Malden. The fleet carried a portion of the troops across the lake, but they found Malden deserted. Proctor and Tecumseh had destroyed their military stores, and taken with them the horses and cattle in the neighborhood, and were now in full retreat toward the Moravian town, on the Thames. At Detroit Harrison was unexpectedly reinforced by about thirty-five hundred mounted Kentuckians, under the venerable Governor Shelby, one of the heroes of King's Mountain, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The pursuit now commenced in earnest. After a forced march of sixty miles, they overtook the enemy. A desperate encounter took place; nearly all Proctor's men were either taken or slain, he himself barely escaping with about two hundred dragoons. The Indians fought furiously when cheered on by Tecumseh, but when he fell, it is said by a pistol ball fired by Colonel Johnson himself, they broke and fled. With the life of the great savage planner ended Indian hostilities in that part of the frontier. The Kentuckians returned home in triumph. Leaving Colonel Lewis Cass, who was soon after appointed Governor of Michigan, to garrison Detroit with his brigade, Harrison embarked with thirteen hundred regulars for Buffalo, to assist in the cherished project of conquering Canada.

Oct.
5.

Military enthusiasm was not confined to Kentucky and the region north of the Ohio. In answer to a call to defend New Orleans, volunteers in great numbers assembled at Nashville, Tennessee. General Andrew Jackson was their chosen commander.

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Jackson was a native of North Carolina, of Scotch-Irish descent; left fatherless at an early age:—his mother
1813. the descendant of a Scotch Covenanter, a woman of great energy, and of a daring spirit, but softened and subdued by religious principle and humane sympathy. From her he inherited a hatred of oppression, and an indomitable will that never failed to triumph. At the age of thirteen—in Revolutionary times—he began his career under General Sumter at the skirmish of Hanging
1780. Rock. His eldest brother had already fallen in battle, and here, in company with the brother next in age, he fought valiantly. Their home broken up and pillaged, the mother and her two sons became exiles from their own fireside. Soon after the sons, through the plottings of Tories, were made prisoners. The next day a British officer ordered Andrew to clean his boots, but the young hero indignantly refused to perform the menial service, and steadily persisted, though his life was threatened and the officer struck him with the flat of his sword.

The heroic mother at length obtained the exchange of her sons, but only in a short time to follow to the grave the elder, who died of small-pox, which both the brothers had contracted during their captivity.

The next year the mother, with some other ladies, travelled more than one hundred miles to minister to the wants of the unfortunate patriots, her neighbors, who were confined as prisoners on board of loathsome prison ships in the harbor of Charleston. Enfeebled by her labors of love, she contracted the fever then raging among the prisoners and speedily passed away. Thus at the age of fifteen Jackson was left without a relative in his native land. Scarcely has it ever fallen to the lot of a youth to experience a series of such harrowing misfortunes. Though young in years these trials had their effect; they gave him the maturity of manhood; they strengthened the decision of character, which so marked his life. To his friends gen-

erous to a fault, yet he never suffered his will to be successfully resisted; not from stubbornness—that strong-
hold of little minds—but from his impression of right. CHAP.
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1796.

He early emigrated to Tennessee, then a territory, and was the first representative from that State in the House. He was then described by a contemporary, “as having been a tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face, and a cue down his back tied in an eel-skin; his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a rough backwoodsman. No eye among his associates was prophetic enough, under that rude aspect, to recognize or imagine the future General and President.¹

New Orleans was almost defenceless; the same mis-
taken economy we have seen elsewhere, had been exercised here. There were only sixteen hundred men in the garrison, scarcely any ammunition, and no means of conveyance. Though without authority from the War Department, General Wilkinson—the same who in the days of the Revolution was one of the aids of General Gates—had taken measures to survey all the water passages to the Gulf, and partially repair their fortifications. 1813.

This expedition from Tennessee had a singular termination. The infantry, in number sixteen hundred, floated in flat-boats down the Cumberland, the Ohio and the Mississippi to Natchez, where they were joined by four hundred horsemen, who had marched across the country. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, sent orders to Jackson, who had been refused a commission in the regular army, to disband his men at Natchez, and deliver his military stores to General Wilkinson. To implicitly obey orders which he did not approve was not one of the virtues of Andrew Jackson. Suspecting that this order was a pretext to get rid of the volunteers without paying their Feb.

¹ Hildreth, vol. iv., p. 692.

CHAP. wages, he positively refused to obey. Indignant at the
 XLIII. wrong done the men, he unceremoniously drove out of the
 1813. camp the United States recruiting officers, who had come,
 hoping to induce those volunteers to enlist in the regular
 army, who had not the funds to return home. On his own
 responsibility, Jackson provided conveyances for the sick,
 and marched the whole force back to Nashville, and there
 April 17. disbanded them. The War Department overlooked the
 insubordination, and quietly paid the bill.

The military operations on the northern frontier continued as unimportant, as they were inefficient in bringing Great Britain to terms. To secure the control of Lake Ontario it was necessary to destroy or capture the ships and military stores at York, now Toronto, then the capital of Upper Canada, and the head-quarters of General Sheafe. When the spring opened, Commodore Chauncey sailed with sixteen hundred men on board his fleet. They landed a short distance from the town, Lieutenant Scott, who had recently been exchanged, leading the van. General Pike led the troops to the assault. The retreating British fired a magazine, which exploded with tremendous power, overwhelmed the advancing Americans, and killed and wounded more than two hundred of their number, among whom was the gallant Pike, who died the next day. The town surrendered, and the contents of another magazine were transferred to Sackett's Harbor.

Just before the Americans embarked, a little one story building, known as the Parliament House, was burned. The British attributed the act to them, but General Dearborn and his officers believed it was set on fire by the disaffected Canadians, as they had threatened to burn it.

Major Grafton certified that no American could have committed the deed without his knowledge, as he had the command of the patrol in the vicinity of the House. The

Canadian Chief Justice of the district, in a communication, spoke of the humane conduct of the Americans, "which entitled them to the gratitude of the people of York." Yet retaliation, for the burning of this building, was the excuse offered afterward for the wanton destruction and pillaging of the public buildings at Washington.

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During the summer occurred a number of failures, all traceable to the inefficiency of the commanders. Finally certain members of Congress informally requested the President, through secretary Monroe, to recall Dearborn from the command. Accordingly Wilkinson was transferred from New Orleans to the northern frontier. General Wade Hampton, recently in command at Norfolk, was also appointed to the command of a division; but as he and Wilkinson were not on friendly terms, he accepted the office only on condition that he should not be placed under the command of the latter. That patriotism which would overlook private resentment for the good of the country must be sacrificed to the personal enmities of these gentlemen. Hoping to remove the difficulty, Armstrong, the Secretary of War, suddenly appeared on the ground, and assumed the chief command himself; but he and Wilkinson could not agree on a plan of operations. After refusing to accept the proffered resignation of Wilkinson, who did not relish the uncalled-for interference, the Secretary returned to his more appropriate duties at Washington.

May.

Another futile attempt was made to conquer Canada. General Wilkinson moved his army from Sackett's Harbor, toward Montreal; in the mean time General Hampton was advancing up from Lake Champlain. The two American armies if united would number twelve thousand men, while the whole British force was about two thousand, and these mostly militia. Wilkinson wrote to Hampton, in Armstrong's name, to join him at St. Regis, but instead of co-operating, Hampton replied that he had given up the expedition and was already on his return to

CHAP. winter-quarters. Under these circumstances, Wilkinson
 XLIII. found it necessary to retreat, as the season would be too
 1813. far advanced before he could obtain the provisions and
 Nov. aid which Hampton had failed to supply. During the
 13. previous summer there had been on the lake, as well as
 on its shores, several expeditions as unimportant in them-
 selves as they were trifling in their results.

When General Harrison, who soon after resigned his
 commission, retired, he left a General McClure in com-
 mand at the head of Lake Ontario. Presently McClure
 found himself with only a few regular troops, as the militia
 under his command were returning home; their term of
 enlistments had expired. Not prepared to resist the ad-
 vancing British, he was forced to retire across the river
 to the American side. Before leaving he destroyed Fort
 George, and set on fire the village of Newark, lest the en-
 emy, as he said, should find comfortable winter-quarters.
 McClure gave as his excuse for thus burning the homes,
 and turning four hundred inoffensive people, men, women,
 and children, out into the winter's storms, that he thought
 he was justified by the orders of the War Department.
 In truth there was no excuse for the cruel and wanton act.
 Evil begets evil. Ten days after, the enemy passed over
 to the American side, surprised Fort Niagara, and put
 the garrison to the sword. Then commenced the retalia-
 tion for the burning of Newark. They burned Lewis-
 town, Youngstown, Manchester, Black Rock, and Buf-
 falo, and indeed every house that could be reached from
 Lake Ontario to Erie. Prevost issued immediately after
 a proclamation, in which he stated that these ravages were
 provoked by the burning of Newark, and if the Americans
 would hereafter refrain from such outrages, he should
 conduct the war on humane and civilized principles.

During the summer the whole American coast was
 June. blockaded by the overwhelming force of the British fleet.
 The Hornet, the frigates United States and Macedonian,

were shut up in the harbor of New London. The harbor of New York, the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, the harbors of Charleston and Savannah, the mouth of the Mississippi, were all blockaded. In the Chesapeake alone there were more than twenty British armed vessels, on board of which were three or four thousand land troops. These frequently landed and pillaged the towns, and in some instances committed outrages upon the inhabitants, especially at Hampton, a small village on James river. The infamy of conducting these marauding expeditions belongs to Vice-Admiral Cockburn, whose conduct was more in accordance with the brutality of a savage, than with the humanity of an officer of a Christian nation. These marauders were well characterized by the term, "Water Winnebagoes."

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———
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The war was not confined to the northern frontier. The untiring Tecumseh had visited the Creeks the previous year, and inspired them, especially their young warriors, with his views. The Creeks occupied the greater portion of what is now the State of Alabama, and a portion of south-western Georgia. Numbers of the tribe had become partially civilized, living upon the products of their fields and their herds. The nation was divided in opinion. The intelligent and wealthy portion were in favor of peace, while the ignorant and poor were in favor of war. The one party saw in a war with the United States, the utter ruin of their nation; the other a return to their ancient customs, and a perfect independence of the white man. The settlers blindly neglected the repeated warnings given of these hostile intentions. When suddenly Wetherford, a celebrated half-breed chief, surrounded Fort Mimms, on the lower Alabama, and put to death nearly three hundred persons, men, women, and children. The South was speedily roused, and soon about seven thousand volunteers were on their march in four

CHAP. divisions, to penetrate the enemy's country, from as
XLIII. many points, and to meet in the centre.

1813. General Jackson, with his recent Natchez volunteers,
Dec. moved from Nashville; from East Tennessee, another division, under General Cocke; one from Georgia, and
1814. one from the Mississippi Territory. In addition the lower Creeks took up arms against their brethren; and also Cherokees and Choctaws joined in the expedition. A series of attacks commenced upon the savage enemy. The Creeks were defeated in every conflict; cut down without mercy, their warriors disdaining to ask for their lives. The divisions penetrated the country from different points, and drove them from place to place. In this last struggle for their homes they were overwhelmed, but not conquered. Thus the war continued for some months, when the greater portion of the volunteers returned home. Jackson was compelled to suspend offensive operations till reinforcements should arrive. At length they came, and he went in pursuit of the enemy. On a peninsula formed by a peculiar bend in the Tallapoosa river, known as Emuchfau, or the Horse-shoe, the Indians made their last stand. They fortified the neck of the peninsula, as much as their rude materials would permit. Thither they transferred their wives and children, in whose defence they resolved to die, and there in gloomy silence they awaited the attack.

Mar. The assault was made on the breastwork, which, after
28. five hours' fighting, was carried. Nearly six hundred of the warriors perished, and the women and children were taken prisoners. Thus, after a campaign of six months, the power of the Creeks was broken, and with it their spirit was crushed. The warriors who were yet living, began to give themselves up to the conquerors. A noble-looking chief suddenly, at the hour of midnight, presented himself to Jackson. "I fought at Fort Mimms; I fought the army of Georgia," said he; "I did you all

the harm I could. Had I been supported as I was promised, I would have done more. But my warriors are killed, and I can fight no longer; I look back with sorrow that I have brought ruin upon my nation. I am now in your power, do with me as you please; I too am a warrior." Such were the words of Wetherford, the destroyer of Fort Mimms. Jackson could appreciate the man who would fight for his country; though the volunteers murmured, he spared the life of the chief. The General, so stern in the performance of duty, was not devoid of humane sympathy. When walking on the field of battle his attention was arrested by the wail of an Indian babe. He himself was a childless man, yet his heart was touched. Ordering the infant to be brought to the camp, he asked the Indian women to take care of it. "Its mother is dead, let it die too," was their reply. The General took the child himself, carried it to his home, and reared it in his own family.

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1814.

The Essex, Captain Porter, passed round Cape Horn, 1813. expecting to meet the Constitution in the Pacific; but she, as has already been noted, returned home after the capture of the Java. When he arrived at Valparaiso, Porter was gratified to be received as a friend. Chili had thrown off her allegiance to Spain, and was no longer an ally of England. Learning there that the viceroy of Peru had, in expectation of war between Spain and the United States, authorized cruisers against American whalers, he put to sea in order to chastise these cruisers, one of whom he captured and disarmed. He then went in pursuit of the British whalers, who were all armed, and carried commissions from their own government to capture American whaling vessels. In a few months he captured twelve of these whalers. Hearing that the British frigate Phoebe had been sent in pursuit of him, he returned early in the year to Valparaiso, in search of the enemy. Soon the

CHAP. Phœbe appeared, accompanied by the sloop-of-war
 XLIII. Cherub. In guns and men the Phœbe was a full match
 1814. for the Essex. The two hostile vessels took their position off the harbor. Porter determined to avoid the unequal contest by escaping to sea; but when passing out of the harbor a sudden squall carried away his main-topmast, and, as he could not return to port, he was at the mercy of the Phœbe and Cherub. After an encounter, perhaps the most desperate of any naval engagement during the war, he was forced to surrender; but he did not strike his flag until he had lost the unusual number of fifty-eight killed and sixty-six wounded. In giving an account of the affair to the Secretary of the Navy, the March. wrote: "We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced."

Efforts had been made by local societies, small and limited in their influence, to circulate the Bible, but not until the formation of a large association, with more means and greater facilities, could much be accomplished in publishing and distributing the Scriptures. Sixty delegates, men
 1816. of influence and representing thirty-five of these local
 May 8. associations, met in New York City, and formed the American Bible Society. During the first year eighty-
 1890. four local societies became auxiliary to it; now the auxiliaries, directly or indirectly connected with the Institution, number over seven thousand. During the first year of its existence the members of the British Bible Society sent it their congratulations and a donation of twenty-five hundred dollars. The Society publishes the Bible without note or comment, and has the confidence of all the Protestant denominations. It publishes more than two hundred varieties of the English Bible, and more than one hundred and forty varieties in other languages. Three several times (1829, 1856, and 1866) the Society, as far as possible, has supplied every family in the Union destitute of the Bible with a copy.

CHAPTER XLIV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The Thirteenth Congress; its Members.—Daniel Webster.—Manifesto of the British Government.—Embarrassments.—Commissioners of Peace appointed.—Britain offers to negotiate.—Jacob Brown.—Winfield Scott.—E. W. Ripley.—Wilkinson unsuccessful; his Misfortunes.—Capture of Fort Erie.—Battle of Lundy's Lane.—Its effect.—British repulsed at Fort Erie; their Batteries captured.—Battle on Lake Champlain.—British marauding Expeditions on the Shores of the Chesapeake.—Bladensburg.—Capture of Washington.—The Public Buildings burned.—Defence of Fort McHenry.—Death of General Ross.—Bombardment of Stonington.—Distress in New England.—Debates in Congress.—Embargo and Non-importation Act repealed.—Hartford Convention.

THE thirteenth Congress, in obedience to the call of the President, met in special session, some months before the usual time. The last census had increased the number of Representatives in the House to 182. Of the present members a greater proportion than in the last Congress were opposed to the war, and, indeed, its own advocates on that subject were by no means harmonious among themselves.

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May
24.

In this Congress, as well as in the last, appeared many new men, whose influence was afterward greatly felt, not only in their respective States, but in moulding the future policy of the nation itself. Among these were John Forsyth of Georgia, William Gaston of North Carolina, John McLean of Ohio, and Daniel Webster of New Hampshire, who now commenced that career so marked in our

CHAP. national councils. Born on the frontiers of that State,
XLIV. his privileges were limited. The quiet, thoughtful boy,
1813. fond of books, read all within his reach. His father, a man of strong sense and sterling integrity; his mother, a woman of more than ordinary intellect and force of character; to their judicious guidance may be traced the best elements of his education. The father noticed his expanding intellect, the calm power of mind that intuitively grasped thoughts far beyond his years. His resolution was taken; though very limited in means, he must educate his son. At length he informed Daniel of his determination to send him to college. At this first intimation that the dreams which had been floating before his imagination were to be realized, the boy's emotions were too deep for utterance; he threw himself upon his father's neck and wept for joy.

In Congress stirring debates ensued. Not only was the policy of the war severely criticized, but the manner in which it had been conducted. Its advocates were surrounded with difficulties; the means to carry it on were exhausted; the revenue derived from commerce had dwindled to one million, with a prospect of still greater reduction; enormous bounties were offered to obtain recruits for the army, but very few enlisted. The clashing of opinions on the subject had arrayed the people definitely on one side or the other.

Jan. The British government issued to the world a manifesto, in which certain charges industriously circulated in the United States were utterly denied—such as that they had instigated the Indians to hostilities, or that they had endeavored to seduce the people of the Eastern States from the Union; but on the contrary, they protested that the English people were actuated by a spirit of forbearance, and were truly desirous to be at peace and amity with the people of the United States. As to the question of search, they were unwilling to give up the

right to recover their deserting seamen, unless the United States would remove the necessity for impressments, by enacting laws forbidding British sailors to enlist in the American service. This document had a great effect in influencing the minds of the people in England, as well as upon those in the United States.

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The disasters of the last campaign, and the want of money, a sufficiency of which could not be obtained by loans, were not as embarrassing to the government, as the opposition to the war which prevailed in the New England States. The Legislature of Massachusetts sent a remonstrance to Congress. They denounced the war as unreasonable, for Great Britain had repealed the obnoxious Orders in Council, and also offered to negotiate in relation to impressments. Undue influences in the councils of the nation had led to measures opposed to their interests, and had brought ruin upon them by war. It was a duty to their constituents to make this remonstrance. They appealed to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of their motives, and their devotion to their country.

The people of New England complained that for the last twelve years, their influence in the national government had not been in proportion to their population, intelligence and wealth,—that their best and ablest men had been designedly excluded from positions of influence in the councils of the nation.

In less than a year after the declaration of war, President Madison, influenced by an offer of mediation on the part of Russia, appointed Albert Gallatin, his Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, commissioners to negotiate a peace. They were to act in concert with John Quincy Adams, then minister at the court of St. Petersburg. The offered mediation by Russia was declined by England; and nothing was accomplished by the commissioners. Nearly a year afterward, the British government made a direct overture to treat of peace, either at

Mar

CHAP. London or at Gottenburg in Sweden. This offer was
 XLIV. made in the face of the ultimate downfall of Bonaparte,
 1814. who had just been defeated at the battle of Leipsic. The
 Jan. President gladly accepted the offer, though he complained
 14. that the English government had rejected the mediation
 of Russia, which had been offered three several times.
 Accordingly, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, recently
 minister to England, were appointed additional commis-
 sioners of peace. In a month's time, they had received
 their instructions, and were on their way to Europe.

These instructions took decided ground on the im-
 pressment question. "That degrading practice must
 cease," said they. "Our flag must protect the crew, or
 the United States cannot consider themselves an inde-
 pendent nation." Yet the promise was quietly made to
 enact a law forbidding the enlistment of British sailors,
 either in the United States navy or in the mercantile
 service. Still more, the commissioners were privately
 authorized "to go further, to prevent a possibility of
 failure." It will be remembered that this was the very
 law or assurance in effect, that Britain asked of Congress,
 at the commencement of the war.

Engrossed with the affairs of Europe, England as yet
 could spare but few men or ships for the American war.
 Bonaparte having abdicated and retired to Elba, she had
 on her hands a large veteran army unemployed. Of this
 army, fourteen thousand soldiers were sent to Canada,
 while other portions were sent to different places in the
 United States. This acquisition changed the face of
 affairs on the northern frontier.

The failures in that quarter, had thrown the adminis-
 tration at Washington into despair. The soldiers had
 but little confidence in officers, who were continually
 quarrelling with each other, and never acting in concert,
 and this favorite measure was about to be given up, from
 sheer want of proper persons to lead the enterprise. New

men were coming on the stage. The most promising of these was Colonel Jacob Brown, a Pennsylvanian by birth, a Quaker by descent, who, when a school teacher in the city of New York, attracted the attention of Hamilton, who made him his military secretary in the army of 1798. Brown subsequently removed to the northern part of New York State, and there, in his defence of Ogdensburg, as well as on other occasions, exhibited military talents of a high order. There was another youthful hero, destined to fill an honorable space in the military annals of his country. Winfield Scott, a native of Virginia, originally bred for the bar; he also belonged to the army of '98. At the commencement of the war he raised and commanded a company of volunteers. To these may be added Eleazar W. Ripley, of Maine, who possessed talents of a high order.

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These young and enthusiastic officers believed that if the Americans were drilled, and led by commanders in whom they had confidence, they would meet the British regulars without fear for the result. Owing to their solicitations, another invasion of Canada was planned. Nothing, however, was gained by the effort, except the verification of their theory.

Early in the spring, Wilkinson, who had been ill for months, moved with four thousand men, from winter quarters, to repel a British detachment. His progress was arrested near La Colle, at a stone mill, held as an outpost. The single heavy cannon brought to batter down the mill, sunk in the mire. An unusual thaw commencing, flooded the whole country, and opened Lake Champlain, of which the British had control. The Americans were fain to retire from the danger as soon as possible. Wilkinson was so much abused and ridiculed on account of this failure, that he indignantly resigned, and demanded an inquiry into his conduct by a court-martial.

Mar.

One year from that time, he was honorably acquitted by the court. But the government, which he had faith-

CHAP. fully served for forty years, on the reduction of the army
 XLIV. after the war, dismissed him from its service. Thus in
 1814. his old age he experienced the hardship of being turned
 upon the world without a competency. The State of
 Maryland came forward, and generously granted him a
 pension.

When spring further opened, a concentration of forces
 on both sides resulted in a series of movements and coun-
 ter-movements accomplishing nothing of importance.
 The first point resolved upon, was to seize Burlington
 Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario, before aid could
 come from York. In the mean time, Commodore Chaun-
 cey was to get the command of the lake.

Having obtained permission from the government,
 General Brown, with thirty-five hundred men, some reg-
 ulars and some volunteers, passed in the night from
 Buffalo to Canada, presented himself in the morning be-
 fore Fort Erie, and summoned the garrison to surrender.
 In the course of the day, the fort complied.

July The British General Riall, with an army equal in
 2. number to that of Brown, was stationed behind the Chip-
 pewa, distant fifteen miles. Colonel Scott, the next day,
 led the advance against the enemy, whose outposts he
 drove in; the remainder of the army came up at midnight.
 Brown here gave an indication of what he expected of his
 officers; he cashiered one of their number for untimely re-
 treating in a skirmish. On the following day, Riall left
 his intrenchments and crossed the Chippewa. The volun-
 teers could not resist the attack, but fled, leaving Scott's
 brigade exposed. The latter charged the retreating enemy
 with the bayonet, and forced them to retreat; as they
 passed the bridge they destroyed it. Riall immediately
 abandoned his camp and Queenstown, and leaving a strong
 force in Fort George, retreated to a favorable position
 twelve miles distant. The British loss in these engagements
 was about five hundred, the American about three hundred.

This first victory, after a fair trial of strength, was very gratifying to the Americans, privates as well as officers. Brown took possession of Queenstown, but found he had not the proper cannon to successfully attack Fort George, and that the fleet could not co-operate. After maintaining his position three weeks, he fell back to the Chippewa.

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The British were not idle. On the very day that Brown reached the Chippewa, General Drummond arrived from York at Fort George, with large reinforcements. To prevent them from sending a detachment to destroy his stores at Schlosser, Brown made an advance upon the enemy. Scott led his brigade, accompanied by the artillery commanded by Towson. General Riall was advancing in force in an opposite direction, intending on the following morning to attack the Americans. About sunset, when directly opposite the falls of Niagara, these parties unexpectedly met. The British took position on a rising ground, and there placed their artillery, consisting of seven pieces. These began to play upon Scott's brigade, while, because of their position on the hill, balls from Towson's guns could scarcely reach them. The loss of the Americans was great, yet they maintained their position, expecting Brown with the main army. When it was quite dark, he arrived. One of Scott's regiments under Major Jessup drove the Canadian militia before them, and, gaining the rear of the enemy, captured a number of prisoners, among whom was General Riall himself, who having been wounded, was retiring. It was seen that the key of the position was the park of artillery on the hill. Said Ripley to Colonel James Miller: "Can you take that battery?" "I'll try, sir," was the prompt reply. Then silently leading his regiment, which was partially concealed by the fence of a churchyard, along which they passed, Miller rushed upon the artillerists, and drove them from their guns at the point of the bayonet. Presently General Drummond advanced in the darkness to recover the

CHAP. guns; but his men quailed before the terrible fire which
XLIV. they encountered. He rallied them again; and again
1814. they were forced from the hill. With the energy of desperation, for the third time they advanced, and were again met with a resistance equally obstinate,—the opposing forces fighting hand to hand with the bayonet. It was now midnight. The British sullenly retired. The
July Americans had maintained their ground, supplying their
25. own exhausted ammunition from the cartridge-boxes of their slain foes. The men were almost perishing with hunger, thirst and fatigue. They had marched during the day fifteen miles, and contended with the enemy five hours. Exhausted, they sank upon the ground. The silence was broken only by the groans of the wounded and dying, and the roar of the mighty cataract, whose moaning tones was a fit requiem for the dead on that field of blood.

The Americans at length retired to their camp, not having horses or any means to carry off the guns which they had captured. The scouts of the enemy soon discovered that they had retired, and a strong detachment was sent to reoccupy the hill and recover their artillery.

Such was the midnight battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane. The Americans lost nearly seven hundred and fifty men—and the British nearly nine hundred; an unprecedented loss, when compared with the number engaged. Brown and Scott were both wounded; as well as nearly all the regimental officers. The next morning there were but sixteen hundred effective men in the American camp. It was now seen that the Americans, when properly led, could and would fight. They had met the veterans who fought under Wellington in Spain, and repulsed them in three desperate encounters. This battle stood out in bold relief, when compared with the imbecility hitherto so characteristic of the campaigns on the northern fron-

tier. It acquired a national interest, as important in its effect as the first naval victories. CHAP.
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The American army fell back to Fort Erie, the command of which Brown intrusted to Colonel Edmund P. Gaines. In the course of a fortnight, Drummond advanced with four thousand men, and after bombarding the fort, attempted at midnight to carry it by assault. The British, in the face of a destructive fire, charged again and again, even within a few feet of the intrenchments. They were finally forced to retire, after sustaining a loss of nearly a thousand men—the Americans not losing a hundred. In a few weeks the energetic Brown, now partially recovered from his wounds, assumed the command. He determined to make a dash at the enemy's batteries, which were two miles in advance of their camp. The time, mid-day, was well chosen. Rushing out from the fort, before assistance could come from the British camp, he stormed the batteries, fired the magazines, spiked the guns, captured four hundred prisoners, and returned to the fort, leaving six hundred of the enemy kill and wounded. But this brilliant exploit cost him nearly three hundred men. Drummond immediately raised the siege and retreated beyond the Chippewa.

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15.Sept.
17.

Stirring events occurred on another part of the frontier. The little navy on Lake Champlain emulated the deeds of the one on Lake Erie just a year before. General Prevost, himself, marched from Canada with twelve thousand veteran troops to invade the State of New York—the town of Plattsburg was the special object of attack. There on the south bank of the Saranac, General Macomb was intrenched with an army of three thousand men, many of whom were invalids. The main body of the American forces was under General Izard, at Sackett's Harbor. Macomb called upon the militia of Vermont and New York for aid; three thousand of whom nobly responded, as did their fathers thirty-seven years before,

Sept.
7.

CHAP. XLIV. when Burgoyne was moving in the same direction, and
 1814. for the same purpose. Commodore Macdonough, after
 laboring incessantly, had at last equipped a fleet. It consisted of a ship, the *Saratoga*, of twenty-six guns, a brig of twenty guns, an armed schooner, and a sloop, besides some gun-boats, in all eighty-six guns and eight hundred and fifty-six men. The British soon appeared, and began to prepare batteries in order to assault Macomb's position. It was useless to force the Saranac, unless the command of the lake was secured. Captain Downie had a fleet of one ship of thirty-seven guns, a brig of twenty-four, two sloops each of eleven, and a number of gun-boats, in all ninety-five guns and one thousand men. Macdonough moored his fleet across the entrance of Plattsburg Bay. A strange scene was witnessed on board the *Saratoga*. As the British fleet drew near, Macdonough knelt in prayer in the presence of his men, and implored the blessing of Heaven upon his country, and especially upon those about to engage with him in the coming conflict.

Downie stood directly into the harbor, reserving his fire for a close action, but his largest vessel became so disabled that he was obliged to cast anchor a quarter of a mile from the American line. During this time one of his sloops was so cut up as to become unmanageable, and drifting within reach, was secured, while the other sloop for a similar cause drifted ashore. All the guns on one side of Macdonough's largest ship were disabled, but he managed to wind her round, and presented a whole side and guns to her antagonist. Downie attempted the same manœuvre, but failing he struck his flag; the entire fleet was captured with the exception of a few gun-boats.

Sept.
11.

When the battle began on the lake, Prevost advanced to storm Macomb's position; he delayed the main attack till a detachment could cross the river above, but before that was accomplished, the fleet had surrendered. The following night, in the midst of a raging storm, the enemy,

stricken with a sudden panic, commenced their retreat, abandoned their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their stores. Thus again the navy of the lake had given a decisive blow.

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Their great number of vessels enabled the British still to blockade the ports of the United States, and effectually prevent their ships of war from getting to sea. The Wasp was their only one afloat. She was known to have lately captured the British sloop-of-war Avon, and subsequently three other prizes. All trace of her was now lost; she had gone down, carrying with her the only American flag which waved on the ocean from a national vessel. Chesapeake Bay became the favorite rendezvous for the British fleet; its shores affording great facilities for marauding expeditions. As a defence, the gun-boats were of no service, except to make a bold front till the enemy came near, and then to run up the creeks, out of harm's way.

In the waters of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, there were now sixty ships of war under the command of Admirals Cockburn and Cochrane. On board this fleet was a land force of five thousand troops, under General Robert Ross. The greatest alarm prevailed in that region in consequence of a proclamation, signed by Cochrane, which promised to persons desirous of emigrating from the United States, employment in the British army and navy, or transportation as "free settlers" to the West India Islands or to Canada. Still more alarming was the rumor, based on the proposition of some British officers, that the enemy were about to seize the peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and there form and drill an army of runaway slaves.

July
9.

General Winder, who was appointed to the command in the emergency, was authorized to call out fifteen thousand militia from the neighboring States. This he proposed to do some weeks before the enemy appeared, and

CHAP. to place them in a central position, that they might be
XLIV. able to march to the defence of either Washington, Balti-
1814. more, or Annapolis, as the case might require. This judicious plan was not adopted. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, opposed it on the ground that with an empty treasury it would be unjustifiable to incur the expense; and, moreover, he was of the opinion that Washington would not be attacked by an enemy who were without horses or cannon, and that Baltimore could defend itself. President Madison seems to have been at a loss what to do or advise. In the midst of these discussions the enemy appeared, one portion of their fleet coming up the bay, and another up the Potomac.

At this late hour word was sent, not by express, but by the tardy mail, to the authorities of Pennsylvania and Virginia, asking them to forward their requisition of militia. It was now impossible for them to reach the scene of action. In the mean time at Benedict, on the Patuxent, about fifty miles from Washington, General
Aug. Ross landed five thousand troops, without meeting the
20. least opposition from the militia of the neighborhood. He commenced his march toward the capital, moving very slowly, not more than ten miles a day, the marines, for want of horses, dragging their field-pieces, only three or four. The soldiers were enervated from the effects of their voyage, and from the excessive heat of the weather. A few spirited troops could have easily checked them. A company of armed and trained negroes marched in front, cautiously exploring the country, and receiving from runaway slaves information of the Americans. The soul of the enterprise was the notorious Cockburn, who had been for a year engaged in pillaging that region. The planters were so much alarmed for their own safety, lest the slaves, much more numerous than their masters, should rise in insurrection and join the enemy, that they permitted the invaders to advance for four days without making the least

opposition. They might have been delayed on their march much longer, if trees had been felled at certain points where the roads crossed swamps, or if the numerous bridges on the route had been broken down. CHAP.
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Commodore Barney, who was in command of the flotilla of gun-boats, ran them up the Patuxent as far as possible, then set them on fire, and marched with five hundred marines to join the militia concentrating in the vicinity of Bladensburg. Here he was put in command of some heavy guns brought from the navy yard. The President himself, accompanied by his cabinet, visited the camp, where all was in confusion. The divisions of militia were stationed by General Winder in such positions as to support each other, but these had been changed by self-constituted officers, who accompanied the President. It was ascertained that the enemy was moving toward Bladensburg. Rumor had magnified their number to ten thousand; all veterans. The discreet militia began to retreat, some with permission and some without. On learning this General Winder sent orders for them to make a stand at the bridge and fight. The village was abandoned, and on the other side of the east branch of the Potomac the marines and militia were arranged. Barney had placed his men in a position to sweep the road with the guns. About the middle of the afternoon the enemy appeared, but so excessive had been the heat, that they were completely exhausted. When Ross reconnoitred the militia stationed on the rising ground, he was somewhat alarmed at their formidable appearance. But he had gone too far to retreat; the order was given to move forward. His alarm was of short continuance. A few Congreve rockets put the Maryland militia to flight; the riflemen followed; the artillery, after firing not more than twice, rapidly retreated; then the Baltimore regiment, on which some hopes were placed, fled also, carrying with them the President and his cabinet. The

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22.

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24.

CHAP. XLIV. British now moved slowly on until they were checked by
the guns manned by the marines under Barney. Finding it impossible to force the position of the marines and sailors in front, detachments filed by the right and left and passed up ravines. At the head of one was stationed the Annapolis regiment, which fled at the first fire. At the head of the other ravine were placed some regulars and militia; they also showed their discretion by getting out of harm's way as soon as possible. The sailors and marines, thus deserted, and in danger of being surrounded, retired, their guns and wounded companions falling into the hands of the enemy. Owing to the vigorous fire of the marines, the British lost a large number of men, and others died from fatigue and heat, and it was absolutely necessary to wait some hours before they could march on Washington. Thus ended the battle of Bladensburg,—in one respect the most famous in American annals.

In the cool of the evening the British advanced into Washington, which they found almost entirely deserted by its male inhabitants. The enemy proceeded to disgrace themselves by fulfilling the instructions which Admiral Cochrane had previously officially announced, which were "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." They burned the capitol, and with it the Congressional Library, and the buildings used for the Treasury and State Departments, in revenge, as it was said, for the Parliament House at York. Many important papers were lost, but the most valuable had been removed some days before. Mrs. Madison had left the President's mansion, taking with her the plate and valuables, and also a portrait of Washington—which was taken from the frame and rolled up. The mansion was pillaged and set on fire, as were some private dwellings, and stores were also plundered. A complete destruction followed at the navy yard.

Aug.
25.

In the midst of a hostile country, General Ross, with a handful of exhausted men, was ill at ease. Perhaps he had read of Concord and Lexington, and was alarmed lest "the indignant citizen soldiery" would turn out and harass him on his retreat. Early the following night he kindled the camp fires, and leaving behind him the sick and wounded, he commenced a stealthy retreat to his ships. His alarm was needless; in a march of four days not the least opposition did he experience. Four days after the taking of the capital, the British frigates, passing by Fort Washington, which offered but little resistance, came up the Potomac and anchored opposite Alexandria, which town saved itself from a bombardment by paying an enormous tribute.

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When his men were refreshed, General Ross moved with the fleet up the Chesapeake, toward Baltimore. The militia of Maryland by this time had assembled for the defence of the city, and also several companies of volunteers had arrived from Pennsylvania. The enemy, eight thousand strong, landed at North Point, at the mouth of the Patapsco. The land forces commenced their march, and the fleet to ascend the river, intending to capture Fort McHenry, situated two miles below the city. An advance party of Americans were thrown forward. In a skirmish with this party, General Ross was killed, yet the invaders pressed on; the militia, after a spirited encounter, retired in good order. The next morning the enemy advanced, yet hesitatingly, as the neighboring hills were covered with soldiers, field works and artillery, which altogether made a formidable appearance. They were under the veteran General Samuel Smith, the same who so gallantly defended Fort Mifflin in the Revolution. The British hesitated to commence the attack without the co-operation of the fleet, which was then busily engaged in bombarding Fort McHenry, but without much success, as the fort was replying with great spirit. When it was

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12.

CHAP. ascertained that the fleet could not pass the fort, the
 XLIV. invaders silently retired in the night and re-embarked.

1814. It was amid the excitement of this cannonade that Francis Key composed the popular song of the "Star Spangled Banner." He had gone to ask the release of certain prisoners, and had been detained during the attack on board the British fleet.

From Eastport in Maine to Sandy Hook, the whole Eastern coast was liable to these marauding expeditions. One of the most serious of these, was the bombardment of Stonington in Connecticut, which continued for four days, but after throwing shells and rockets, and several attempts to land, the enemy retired. They were repelled in every instance by the sturdy militia. Field works, garrisoned by the yeomanry of the country, were thrown up at all points along the coast likely to be an object of
 Aug. attack. This was done by the State authorities, the national government being so completely enfeebled, as to be unable to afford the least aid to any of the States.

The people of New England, with very few exceptions, continued to complain of their grievances. Their distress was great; the embargo, enforced by severe penalties, ruined their fisheries and their coasting trade, and had deprived them of many of the necessities of life. They looked upon these restrictions as "more odious and unfeeling than the Boston Port Bill, which roused the colonies to independence; a gross and palpable violation of the principles of the Constitution, not to be submitted to without a pusillanimous surrender of their rights and liberties."

Petitions poured in to the legislature of Massachusetts, asking it to take measures to redress these grievances. A committee to whom these petitions were referred, reported
 Feb. in terms expressive of the general sentiment of the petitioners. They believed that the war, so fertile in failures, and so threatening as to its results, was uncalled for and

wrong in principle. They saw in the future the people impoverished, deprived of their comforts, and their hopes blasted. And the committee recommended a convention of delegates from the commercial States, to obtain amendments to the constitution that would secure them against such evils.

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These manifestations of discontent had their effect, and the President himself proposed the abandonment of the restrictive system, not only the embargo, but the non-importation act. In order to encourage domestic manufactures, instead of the latter he recommended that for three years after the close of the war double duties be imposed upon imported goods, and that the exportation of specie be prohibited.

Mar.
31.

The advocates of the war in Congress, annoyed at the failures of the last two years, attributed their want of success to the influence of those opposed to the war; instead of acknowledging their own imprudence, in thus rushing, without preparation, into hostilities, or ceasing to be infatuated with the idea of conquering Canada. In the discussion on a bill to procure enlistments for the army, Daniel Webster in reply to these charges, no doubt expressed the general sentiment of those opposed to the war. In those sections of the country where the population was most numerous, the war was unpopular because of its impolicy;—it was no detraction from their patriotism that they did not join heart and hand in measures which they deemed the extreme of folly. He continued,—“Give up your futile projects of invasion. Extinguish the fires which blaze on your inland frontiers. Establish perfect safety and defence there by adequate force. Let every man that sleeps on your soil sleep in security. Having performed this work of beneficence and mercy on your inland border, turn and look with the eye of justice and compassion on your vast population along the coast. Unclench the iron grasp of your embargo. Take

CHAP. measures for that end before another sun sets upon you.
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1814. With all the war of the enemy upon your commerce, if you would cease to make war upon it yourselves, you would still have some commerce. That commerce would give you some revenue. Apply that revenue to the augmentation of your navy. Let it no longer be said, that not one ship of force, built by your hands since the war, yet floats upon the ocean. If the war must continue, go to the ocean. If you are seriously contending for maritime rights, go to the theatre where alone those rights can be defended. Thither every indication of your fortune points you. There the united wishes and exertions of the nation will go with you. Even our party divisions, acrimonious as they are, cease at the water's edge. They are lost in attachment to the national character, on the element where that character is made respectable. In time you may be able to redress injuries in the place where they may be offered; and, if need be, to accompany your own flag throughout the world with the protection of your own cannon."

The embargo and non-importation act were repealed, while action on the other recommendations of the President was postponed.

Dec. 15. The delegates to the convention recommended by the legislature of Massachusetts, met upon the appointed day at Hartford. In accordance with the sentiments expressed in the call for the convention, the members were enjoined not to propose measures "repugnant to their obligations, as members of the Union." They met in a time of trial and distress to confer with each other on the best means to relieve the country of a ruinous war, and secure the blessings of a permanent peace. The Convention, consisting of but twenty-six members, sat with closed doors. After a session of twenty days it adjourned, and, as the result of their deliberations, published an address to the people. The address disappointed the more violent

opponents of the war, who thought the occasion demanded more decided measures. The President and his cabinet had been much alarmed; in the Convention, they imagined lurked some terrible plot of treason; they breathed more freely when they read this address and the resolutions.

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After recapitulating the evils which the war had brought upon the people whom they represented, they expressed their sentiments upon other wrongs; such as the enlistment of minors and apprentices; the national government assuming to command the State militia; and especially the proposed system of conscription for both army and navy. "Strange propositions for a government professedly waging war to protect its seamen from impressment!" "The conscription of the father with the seduction of the son, renders complete the power of the national executive over the male population of the country, thus destroying the most important relations of society."

"A free constitution administered by great and incomparable statesmen realized the fondest hopes of liberty and independence, under Washington and his measures. The arts flourished, the comforts of life were universally diffused, nothing remained but to reap the advantages and cherish the resources flowing from this policy."

"Our object is to strengthen and perpetuate the union of these States, by removing the causes of jealousies."

In furtherance of these views they proposed amendments to the Constitution; among others, to equalize the representation in the lower House of Congress, by basing it on free population; against embargoes and non-intercourse laws; to make the President ineligible for a second term. These amendments were never adopted by the States. The existence of the Convention showed the intense feeling on the subject of the war and its consequences, and its deliberations exhibit no other spirit than that of wishing to redress grievances by constitutional means.

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1814. Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, viewing the law of Congress which authorized the enlistment of minors and apprentices, as a violation of their rights and unconstitutional, passed laws that subjected the recruiting officers to fine and imprisonment; and required the State judges to release any such minor or apprentice on application of the parent or guardian. Fortunately the war was soon after brought to a close, and the necessity for enlistments under this oppressive and demoralizing law, was removed.

CHAPTER XLV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED.

Jackson enters Pensacola.—New Orleans defenceless.—The British land.—Jackson's Measures of Defence.—Battle of New Orleans.—The Distress of the Country and Embarrassment of the Government.—The Relief.—Treaty of Peace.—The Frigate President captured.—Successes at Sea.—War with Algiers.—Treaty with that Power.—Treaty with the Indians.—Financial Disorders.—State of Indiana.—John Fitch.—Robert Fulton.—First Steamboat.

WHEN arranging affairs with the Creeks, General Jackson learned that the Spaniards at Pensacola had welcomed the hostile Indians, and also that a British man-of-war had furnished them with arms. Intelligence of this was sent to Washington, whence orders were transmitted to Jackson to seize Pensacola. That these orders were six months on the way, may illustrate the efficiency with which the War Department was conducted. Meantime some British men-of-war arrived in the harbor, from which a Colonel Nichols landed men and began to enlist the Creeks. Jackson now sent urgent appeals to his favorite Tennessee mounted men to hasten to his aid. The British soon after attacked Fort Bowyer on the east shore of Mobile Bay. The fort was defended by one hundred and thirty men, under Major Lawrence. The vigorous defence soon repulsed the enemy, one of whose ships blew up and the rest were fain to depart. This success encouraged the people of Louisiana and Mississippi in their efforts to defend New Orleans themselves,

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CHAP. without depending upon the General Government. Jack-
 XLV.
 1814. son wrote repeatedly to Washington for orders and re-
 ceived none, but when the three thousand Tennesseans,
 under General Coffee, arrived, he took the responsibility
 to enter Pensacola and demand that the British should
 leave the place. He also intimated in emphatic terms to
 the Spanish governor, that he would hold him responsible
 for permitting the British to occupy his territory, for the
 purpose of encouraging the Creeks in their hostility. The
 British immediately blew up a fort which they had erected
 seven miles below the town, and took to their ships.

Nov. Confident that the enemy designed to direct their
 6. efforts against New Orleans, Jackson sent in advance
 General Coffee to some point on the Mississippi, with the
 mounted men, while he himself followed, as soon as cir-
 cumstances would permit. The defences of New Orleans
 were in a deplorable condition; since Wilkinson left,
 nothing further had been done to repair them. The city
 contained nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, not one-
 half of whom were whites. These were principally of
 French origin, and others of foreign birth, none of whom
 were ardently attached to the United States. Jackson
 hastened to the point of danger. He availed himself of
 every possible aid; he released the convicts in the prisons,
 and enrolled them for the occasion; accepted the offered
 services of Lafitte, the head of the Baratarian buccaneers.
 He also issued an address to "the noble-hearted, gener-
 ous, free men of color," to enroll themselves for the de-
 fence of their country. To this call, under an act of the
 Louisiana Legislature, they heartily responded.

While he was thus unprepared, the British fleet cast
 anchor off the entrance of Lake Borgne. It had on board
 twelve thousand land troops, besides four thousand sailors
 and marines. These troops had recently been under the
 Duke of Wellington, in the Peninsular war, and were
 commanded by able and experienced generals; Sir Ed-

ward Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, Gibbs, Keene, and Lambert. Three days later, after a severe contest, they captured the entire American flotilla on Lake Borgne.

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The Louisiana militia were immediately called out, but they were ill supplied with arms. Some months previous, Jackson, anticipating this very emergency, had urged upon the War Department at Washington to send a supply of arms from the arsenal at Pittsburg. The government agent, unwilling to pay the usual freight on the only steamboat then running to New Orleans, shipped the arms on board keel boats. Thus twenty-five cents on a hundred pounds of freight were saved by the government, and Jackson received the muskets after the battle!

General Coffee had reached Baton Rouge, at which place he received orders to hasten with all speed to the scene of action. With eight hundred of his best mounted men—all unerring marksmen, armed with rifles and tomahawks—he made the extraordinary march of one hundred and fifty miles in two days. Thus, by similar exertions, in the space of a fortnight, Jackson had five thousand men, four-fifths of whom were militia. Other difficulties presented themselves. Owing to the want of co-operation on the part of the legislature, and the necessities of the times, he proclaimed martial law.

Dec.
20.

The enemy landed two thousand light armed troops, under General Keene. Jackson marched to meet them with the regulars, and Coffee's men dismounted. Soon after dark the battle began; the enemy were driven from one point to another, till finally they found protection behind a levee. Good service was done in this conflict by the armed schooner Carolina, which ran in near the shore, and with her guns swept their ranks. This successful repulse of the invaders greatly encouraged the Americans.

Dec.
23.

The next day Jackson took a position on solid ground

CHAP. nearly a mile in breadth; the river protecting one flank,
XLV. and a swamp the other. Though strongly reinforced, the
1815. British made no attempt the following day to retrieve what they had lost, being deterred by the reports of prisoners, who greatly exaggerated the strength of Jackson's force. This delay was profitably occupied in strengthening the defences; bales of cotton were used as a rampart, and the ditch was extended to the swamp. Five days after the enemy advanced and drove in the American outposts, and when within half a mile of the ramparts opened with artillery and Congreve rockets. Yet Jackson replied with so much vigor, with his five heavy guns, that after a cannade of seven hours the enemy withdrew, having suffered considerable loss.

Jan. Within three days after this repulse, they made another attack with much heavier artillery. Their movements were concealed by a dense fog, and the intimation of their approach was given only by their cannon balls crashing through the American camp, but Jackson had so strengthened his works, that the British—their guns dismounted and silenced—were again compelled to retire; but it was to make preparations for a grand assault.

Jan. Presently twenty-two hundred Kentucky riflemen arrived; of whom unfortunately one-half were without arms, and could not be supplied. These Jackson placed to throw up a second line of intrenchments in the rear of the first line.

Jan. When prepared, the British moved to the assault, under the cover of a battery of six eighteen-pounders, which had been erected the previous night. The main column was led by Pakenham in person, intending to storm the centre, one column moved along the river and carried a redoubt, another, led by Gibbs and Keene, advanced along the edge of the swamp.

As the advancing columns came within range, the American artillery opened upon them with deadly effect,

yet they filled up their ranks and moved steadily on. Presently they reached the range of the Kentucky and Tennessee rifles, which poured in a continuous stream of unerring bullets. The heads of the columns faltered. While endeavoring to rally them, Pakenham fell; Keene and Gibbs were both wounded, the latter mortally. The command then devolved on General Lambert, who made two more unsuccessful attempts to storm the works, but was forced to retire, leaving, on the field two thousand men killed and wounded. Jackson had taken the precaution to send General Morgan across the river to throw up intrenchments directly opposite his own. The night previous to the battle, Pakenham sent a detachment under Colonel Thornton, who drove Morgan from his position, but when the main body was defeated he took to his boats and hastily retreated.

In this battle the Americans lost seven men killed and as many wounded.

Taking every precaution to guard against surprise, Lambert gradually fell back to the first landing place, and then, in the course of twenty days, re-embarked.

Thus virtually ended the war of 1812. The only battles well fought on land, were those directed by new men called into active service by the war itself. The victories at Lundy's Lane and New Orleans were gained by soldiers who had been trained but a short time, but they were under commanders in whom they had implicit confidence.

Though these successful events were transpiring in that distant region, yet on the Atlantic coast, and at Washington, it was the gloomiest period of the war. Affairs were almost desperate. The treasury exhausted, the national credit gone, the terrible law of conscription, like an ominous cloud hanging over the people, civil discord seemingly ready to spring up between the States;

CHAP. the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia yet subject to the
XLV. marauding expeditions of the infamous Cockburn, while
1815. the inhabitants were crying in vain to the General Government for assistance. Nothing favorable had yet been heard from the commissioners of peace at Ghent, nor even from New Orleans. It was known that a very large force of British veterans was in the vicinity of that place, and that Jackson was very ill-prepared to meet them.

Feb. 11. As a gleam of sunshine in intense darkness, a rumor, by way of Canada, proclaimed that peace had been concluded; at the same time came another from the southwest that the enemy had been defeated. While all were tremblingly anxious for the truth of these rumors, late of a Saturday night, a British sloop-of-war, the Favorite, commissioned for the purpose, arrived at New York, bringing the treaty of peace, already ratified by the British government. The cry of PEACE! PEACE! ran through the city. As if by one impulse the houses were illuminated, and the citizens, without distinction of party, thronged the streets to congratulate each other. In the midst of their own rejoicing they did not forget their brethren who were yet ignorant of the welcome news, and messengers were sent in every direction. In thirty-two hours, the express with the tidings reached Boston. There the excitement was almost unbounded. The people assembled in crowds to hear the news, which had so unexpectedly brought relief to their distresses. The bells rang their merriest peal, and the schools received a holiday. Flags and streamers were soon displayed on the vessels which had lain so long idle at the wharf. Before night, carpenters and riggers were at work, sailors were engaged, cargoes were passing on board; Boston was herself again in commercial activity. The reception of the news was followed by similar rejoicings all along the coast, and throughout the country. To add still more to the happiness, as well as the gratification of the nation, in a

few days was confirmed the rumor of the total defeat of the British before New Orleans. CHAP.
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The Senate unanimously ratified the treaty within thirty hours after it was laid before them. The President speedily issued a proclamation, announcing the fact, that once more peace reigned throughout the land. A day for thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessing, was observed by the nation. 1815.

Feb.
18.

The treaty provided for the mutual restoration of all places taken during the war; also for determining the northern boundary, and other matters of minor importance were amicably arranged. But not a word was said on the impressment question, for the settlement of which the war had ostensibly been continued after the first two months. Both parties seem to have been heartily tired of fighting; though Great Britain wished to restrain what she thought an alarming grasping spirit in the New Republic, as evidenced in the acquisition of Louisiana and the attempts on Canada.

A few days after the ratification of the treaty, the President recommended to Congress the passage of a law to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace, enjoining that "American vessels be navigated exclusively by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalized," thus endeavoring to gain by legislation what could not be obtained by war. Yet one object had been secured—we hear no more of the impressment of American seamen.

Previous to the announcement of peace, the commanders of some of the national vessels determined to evade the blockading enemy and escape to sea. Commodore Decatur, on board the frigate President, commanding the sloops Hornet and Peacock to follow, attempted to evade the blockade of the port of New York. Passing out in the night, after being unfortunately aground for some

Jan.
15.

CHAP. hours, in the morning he fell in with the British squad-
 XLV.
 1815. ron, by whom he was chased. One of the enemy, the frigate Endymion, commenced an engagement, but after a running fight, she was effectually disabled, and fain to haul off. The President unfortunately was also crippled, and the other British vessels coming up, Decatur was compelled to strike his colors.

A few days after, the Hornet and Peacock avoided the blockade, and proceeded to their rendezvous, off the Cape of Good Hope. On her way the Hornet, Captain Biddle,
 Mar. fell in with and captured the British brig Penguin. The latter was made a complete wreck, and as such was set on fire. The Peacock joined her consort, and in company they sailed to the Indian Ocean. The Hornet was soon after chased by a British seventy-four, and in order to escape, she was compelled to throw her guns and nearly all her armament overboard, in which condition she returned to New York. The Peacock, Captain Warrington,
 June continued on to the East Indies, where she captured
 30. the cruiser Nautilus.

The Constitution, Captain Stewart, also evaded the blockade off Boston harbor. On a moonlight night she fell in with two war vessels off the port of Lisbon. They prepared to engage, but the Constitution manœuvred to keep the wind at about an equal distance from her antagonists. Captain Stewart, seizing a favorable opportunity, directed all his force upon the vessel nearest,
 Feb. which almost immediately struck; then he captured the
 20. other in a similar manner. The prizes proved to be the British sloops-of-war Cyane and Levant. These captures were all made after the articles of peace were signed.

Soon after the commencement of the war with Britain, the Dey of Algiers, thinking the Americans would have no means of punishing him, renewed his old practice of piracy. Pretending to be dissatisfied with the presents he had received from the American government, he dis-

missed Lear, the consul, threatening to reduce him and his family, and all the Americans in Algiers, to slavery, a fate which Lear escaped by paying a large ransom. Some American vessels were afterward seized by the pirates, and their crews reduced to slavery.

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Two months after the conclusion of peace, an American squadron, under Decatur, consisting of three large frigates and seven other vessels of war, sailed for the Mediterranean. Six weeks later, Bainbridge followed with the Independence, the new seventy-four, accompanied by other war vessels; on the way he was also joined by the Congress frigate. But before his arrival in the Mediterranean, the energetic Decatur had brought the Dey to terms. On the second day after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, he fell in with the largest frigate of the Dey, under his high Admiral, on a cruise for American merchantmen. After a fight of less than thirty minutes the Algerine was captured; two days after another cruiser shared a similar fate. When the squadron appeared before Algiers, the intelligence of these disasters, by which he had lost his best ship, and six hundred men, had greatly humbled the Dey. To escape a worse punishment, he gladly submitted to the indignity of signing, on Decatur's quarter-deck, a humiliating treaty. He bound himself to make indemnities for his extortions; to surrender all his prisoners without ransom, and to renounce all claim for tribute from the American government, as well as his barbarous practice of piracy and reducing prisoners to slavery.

May.

Decatur proceeded immediately to Tunis and Tripoli, where he demanded and received indemnity for some American vessels, at whose captures, in their harbors, by the English, they had connived. Thus, in a few weeks, these barbarians were taught a lesson which they have not yet forgotten. When Bainbridge arrived, he found all the difficulties arranged. The united navy, consisting of

CHAP. fourteen vessels, visited the principal ports of the Medi-
 XLV. terranean. Their victories over the mistress of the ocean,
 1815. secured them treatment manifesting high respect.

The autumn following the close of the war, a great council of the North-western Indian tribes was held, at which they made peace with each other. Afterward they all made peace with the United States. Thus apprehensions of future Indian hostilities were removed.

Sept. The war left the finances of the country in a very confused state. The banks in existence, except those in New England, were unable to redeem their notes in specie, and confidence in their promises to pay was wanting. The national debt, in consequence of the war, was known to be more than one hundred millions of dollars. In order to remove some of the burdens resting upon the people, the Secretary of the Treasury, A. J. Dallas, proposed to remit some of the internal taxes, which had been levied during the last few years. Instead of which he advised the imposition of duties on imports, not merely to secure a revenue, but also to protect the manufactures which had sprung into existence during the war. The President likewise, in his annual message, urged the adoption of such a policy.

To aid in rectifying the financial disorders in the country, Congress chartered, for twenty years, a National Bank, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. It commenced operations at Philadelphia, and, in connection with its branches in other States, afforded the people a uniform currency redeemable at all times with gold and silver.

1817. A bill designed to compel the local banks to pay
 Mar. specie was passed, ordering that all dues to the government should be paid in gold and silver, or "in treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or in notes of banks payable and paid on demand in specie."

Sept. The Territory of Indiana having adopted a constitution, presented herself for admission into the Union, and was received.

John Fitch, an uneducated watchmaker of Philadelphia, conceived the design of propelling boats by steam. CHAP.
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He applied to Congress for assistance, but, unfortunately, 1785.
was refused; then, with a similar result, he applied to the Spanish authorities of Louisiana. Some years later he found means to construct a boat, and to make a trial trip on the Delaware. The boat went at the rate of eight miles an hour, but unfortunately the boiler exploded. One disaster followed another, and poor John Fitch died, the victim of disappointment, but full of faith that others would yet perfect his invention: he desired to be buried on the banks of the Ohio, that boats propelled by steam might pass near his last resting place. In less than twenty years after his death the steamer Clermont passed up the Hudson from New York to Albany. 1807.

The Clermont was the work of Robert Fulton, a native of Pennsylvania, once a pupil of West, the painter. He had a decided turn for mechanics, and had studied the subject many years in Europe, where he received pecuniary aid and encouragement from Robert R. Livingston, then American minister at Paris.

To American enterprise is due the honor of launching the first steamboat and the first Ocean steamer—the Savannah—that crossed the Atlantic. She left New York, 1818.
went to Savannah, and thence to Europe, where she was an object of great interest. Twenty years later April,
1838.
the British steamer Great Western came to New York in fourteen days.

Madison's Administration, so full of important events, drew to a close. James Monroe, also from Virginia, had been elected his successor, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Vice-President. The latter had been Governor of that State, and in that capacity been most efficient in aiding the country in the war just closed. At one time he sustained the garrison of the city by his own private credit.

CHAPTER XLVI.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

A Return to the earlier Policy of the Government.—The President's Tour in the Eastern States.—The Colonization Society.—Revolutions in the Spanish Colonies.—Indian War; the Seminoles.—General Jackson in the Field.—Purchase of Florida.—The Missouri Compromise.—Manufactures.—Increase of Tariff.—Visit of Lafayette.

CHAP. XLVI. SINCE the close of the war, party distinctions were fast
— losing their influence. In the minds of the great majority
1817. of the people, names were giving place to ideas. The nation was prepared for the quiet revival of the leading principles of Washington's administration. The people had not in so many words thus formally decided;—but to return to the policy of the earlier days of the Government seemed the only means to remedy existing evils, and to guard against their recurrence in the future. This may be said in relation to the revenue as arising from commerce, the finances, the policy toward foreign nations, and in the means of national defence both by sea and land.

Mar. 4. The new President in his inaugural fully indorsed these doctrines, and they were echoed and re-echoed throughout the land as the true policy, while some of the old Republicans characterized them as being veritable Federalism under another name. The President pointed to the experience of the nation in the last struggle, and unhesitatingly advised not only fortifications on the coast with garrisons, but a navy strong enough to maintain the dig-

nity and neutrality of the United States, as well as protect commerce; he also recommended that a knowledge of naval and military science should be kept up. In addition, that domestic manufactures be protected by imposts on foreign merchandise, and also, internal improvements be aided by the national government, if such expenditure was in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution.

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Though professing to be much gratified that the party spirit lately so rampant was allayed, the President took good care to appoint none but his most devoted adherents to the offices within his gift. John Quincy Adams was recalled from the court of St. James to become Secretary of State. The other members of his cabinet were William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; Crowningshield of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

The President, some months after his inauguration, made a tour through the Eastern States. The sentiments of his address had become diffused, and prepared the way for his receiving a warm reception in the Federal town of Boston, and throughout New England generally. It was enthusiastically proclaimed that the people were once more to be harmonious in their views of national policy.

During the following session of Congress the American Colonization Society was formed at Washington. It was designed to provide a home beyond the limits of the United States for the free people of color who should desire to emigrate. The condition of these people in the slaveholding States, as well as the laws in some of the others, that forbade their settling within their borders, led to the formation of the Society. The enterprise was ardently advocated by Henry Clay, Judge Washington, John Randolph, and other southern statesmen. This

CHAP. Society established the now flourishing Colony of Liberia
XLVI. on the west coast of Africa.

1817.

The influence of the Revolution had not been without effect upon other nations. The Spanish colonies of South America threw off their allegiance to the mother country, and declared themselves independent. Under the pretence of having commissions from these new Republics, a company of adventurers, principally drawn from Charleston and Savannah, seized Amelia Island, off the harbor of St. Augustine. These worthies soon began to smuggle merchandise and slaves into the United States. Yet, as a cloak to their deeds, they proclaimed they were blockading the port of St. Augustine. A similar haunt for buccaneers had existed for some time at Galveston in Texas. Both these establishments were broken up by order of the United States Government.

The condition of the South American republics excited great sympathy in the minds of the people. Some were advocates for giving them aid, while others were anxious that Congress should, at least, acknowledge their independence. In defiance of the President's proclamation to the contrary, cruisers, bearing the flag of these Republics, were fitted out in some of the ports of the United States to prey upon Spanish commerce.

These difficulties, combined with other causes, led to a new Indian war in the South. Numbers of Seminoles, refugee Creeks, and runaway negroes, living in the Spanish Territory, south of Flint river, began to pillage the Georgia settlements north of that river. General Gaines, who was in command at the nearest fort, demanded that these murderers and robbers should be given up. The Indians refused, on the ground that they were not the aggressors. Soon after a collision occurred, in which several Indians were killed. Their death was terribly revenged upon the people on board a boat ascending the Apalachi-

cola, with supplies for Fort Scott. More than forty persons, consisting of men, women, and children, were massacred. The War Department ordered General Jackson to invade the Indian Territory, and "bring the war to a speedy and effectual close." In three months he was on the ground, with an army composed of Georgians and Tennesseans. He moved to the vicinity of where Tallahassee now stands; the savages made little resistance, but abandoned their towns, and their cattle and grain. With his usual energy, Jackson pressed on, and, without ceremony, seized St. Mark's, on Appalachee Bay, the only Spanish fort in that part of Florida, on the ground that its officers were aiding and abetting the Indians in their hostilities to the United States. One of the American armed vessels on the coast hoisted British colors, and two of the hostile Creek chiefs were decoyed on board. These chiefs Jackson unceremoniously hanged. On one of the incursions against the enemy, two British subjects, Robert C. Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, traders among the Indians, were taken prisoners. These two men were put on trial for their lives before a court-martial, on the charge of aiding the Indians. They were found guilty and sentenced to death, and immediately executed. The measure was much censured as unnecessary and unwarranted. Notwithstanding the protest of the Spanish governor against his invasion of Florida, Jackson soon appeared before Pensacola, which place surrendered. The governor in the mean time fled to a fort further down the bay, and finally to Havana.

These arbitrary proceedings were protested against by Don Onis, the Spanish Minister at Washington. The matter however was not pressed, as negotiations were soon after entered upon to purchase the territory in dispute.

American citizens had claims amounting to five millions of dollars against the Spanish government. Don Onis received instructions from home, that authorized

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1817.

Mar.

April.

May

- CHAP. him to cede Florida to the United States for these claims.
 XLVI. The purchase was thus made, the American Government
 1821. assuming the debt. Two years later Spain ratified the Treaty. Florida was then organized as a Territory, and General Jackson was appointed its first Governor.

The American people have never been indifferent to the political as well as the moral aspects of slavery. From the adoption of the Constitution till the time of which we write, the conscience and the sympathy of the religious portion of the nation, both North and South, found their expression on the subject in memorials addressed to the ecclesiastical assemblies, whose resolutions in reply condemned the system.

1787. The Continental Congress legislated specially on the subject in adopting the ordinance by which the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi was consecrated to freedom. During the second session of the First Congress, petitions were presented to that body, praying it to take measures to free the nation of the system. The committee to whom these memorials were referred, reported that Congress was not authorized by the Constitution to interfere with slavery as existing in the individual States. In accordance with this view, that body has ever acted, when disposing of the numerous memorials on the subject that have, from time to time, been presented to it.

The Northern States, for a quarter of a century, had been gradually freeing themselves of the institution, or making provision to that effect, while in the Southern States a different sentiment had been on the increase. The acquisition of Louisiana had given to them a vast region in which slave labor was profitable, especially in the cultivation of cotton. These antagonist opinions were suddenly brought into collision, and a strong sectional feeling was elicited.

1819.
 Feb.
 16.

The territory of Missouri asked permission to form a

constitution, preparatory to her admission into the Union as a State. When the question was before the House of Representatives, James W. Tallmadge, a member from New York, proposed to insert a clause, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into the territory, and also another clause granting freedom to the children of slaves already there, when they should attain the age of twenty-five years.

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After a spirited debate both these propositions were adopted. The day following the passage of this bill came up a similar one to organize the Territory of Arkansas. This bill, after a strenuous effort to insert similar clauses, was finally passed without any restriction as to slavery.

The States admitted into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, had happened to come in alternately as non-slaveholding, and as slaveholding—Vermont and Kentucky; Tennessee and Ohio; Louisiana and Indiana; Mississippi and Illinois. As Alabama had applied for admission as a slave State, it was urged that Missouri should be admitted as free. This proposition soon lost its force by the application of Maine, the northeastern part of Massachusetts, presenting herself to be admitted as a free State. Here was an offset to Alabama, leaving Missouri to make the next slave State.

In the consideration of these bills the subject of slavery restriction in the territories came up for discussion. The members from the Southern States insisted that any restriction upon Missouri would violate the pledge given to the inhabitants of Louisiana, at the time of its purchase, that they should enjoy "all the privileges of citizens of the United States;" that such a restriction would eventually interfere with State rights; that the citizens of slaveholding States had the right to take their property into the territories of the Union. It was urged that it would be an act of humanity and a blessing to the poor slave, whose lot was so hard in the old exhausted

CHAP. States, to transfer him to the fertile plains of the West;
XLVI. that this would only be the diffusion of the system, but
1819. not its extension, as the number of slaves would not be increased thereby; and that the prohibition of slavery would diminish emigration from the South into the territories.

To these arguments it was replied: it was true that Congress was forbidden by the Constitution to interfere with slavery in the original thirteen States, but that this did not apply to the territories. They were the property of the Union, and Congress had the control of their organization. Would Congress be justified in spreading over them an institution which even its advocates on the floor of the house had again and again deplored as an evil?

It was contended that slave labor and free labor could not coexist on the same soil; and should the introduction of a few thousands of slaves exclude millions of freemen from the territories? ¹

The debate was conducted with great animation, mingled with much bitterness, and threats to dissolve the Union. The intense excitement was not limited to the National Legislature; it extended throughout the country, and it was by no means diminished by the speeches made on the subject on the floor of Congress, nor by the fact, which the discussion revealed, that during the previous year more than fourteen thousand slaves had been smuggled into the United States, from Africa and the West Indies.

The legislatures of some of the Northern States expressed their wish that slavery should not go beyond the Mississippi, while the people held conventions and memorialized Congress. Opposite views were as strongly expressed by some of the Southern States. Thus the country was agitated for nearly two years, and the diffi-

¹ The Debates in Congress, Niles's Register, Vols. 16, 17, and 18.

culty was still unsettled. When the bill came before the Senate, Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois moved as an amendment, a clause forbidding the introduction of slavery into the Louisiana Territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, and west of the proposed State of Missouri. This was the line of the famous Missouri Compromise. The House, however, would not at first agree to this arrangement; but finally, through means of a committee of conference, Maine was admitted, and Missouri, on these conditions, after she should adopt a constitution.

The following year, when the constitution of Missouri was presented to Congress, it was found to contain a clause that prohibited free people of color from settling in the State. Though this clause "was adopted for the sake of peace—for the sake of internal tranquillity—and to prevent the agitation of the slave question,"¹ yet it was viewed far differently in Congress, and was the occasion of opening the restriction question with all its bitterness. The insertion of the offensive clause, under the circumstances, seemed to manifest as little regard for the Constitution of the United States, as respect for the opinions of those opposed to the extension of slavery. The citizens of any one State were, by the Constitution, entitled to the privileges of citizens in the other States. Free people of color were thus recognized in some of the States, but by this clause they were deprived of their rights. Another committee of conference, of which Henry Clay was the prime mover, was appointed by the Senate and House of Representatives. The difficulty was again compromised by which Missouri was to be admitted on the express condition that she would expunge the obnoxious clause, and then the President was authorized to admit her by proclamation. The Missouri Legislature complied, and the fact

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. i. p. 8.

CHAP. was communicated to the President, who proclaimed her
XLVI. admission to the family of States. Thus the slavery agi-
1821. tation was allayed for a time, but the same question,
Aug. under different phases, has returned again and again, and
will no doubt continue thus to do till the conscience of
the nation is fully satisfied on the subject—for questions
involving the moral and political relations of so many
millions cannot be lightly passed over.

Mar. A new interest was awakened in behalf of the South
1822. American Republics. Great efforts had been made by
Henry Clay, during their struggle, to induce Congress to
acknowledge their independence, but it was then thought
premature; now the bill was passed. The next year the
President declared in his message that “as a principle the
American Continents, by the free and independent posi-
tion which they have assumed and maintained, are hence-
forth not to be considered as subjects for future coloniza-
tion by any European power.” This has since been
known as the Monroe Doctrine, though its authorship,
it would seem, belongs rather to his Secretary of State,
John Quincy Adams.

Great financial distress prevailed during this period
throughout the land. The immense amount of foreign,
especially English, merchandise sent, at reduced prices,
into the country, paralyzed its industry. These goods
were thus sent for the express purpose of ruining the
American manufactures, called into existence by the
necessities of the war—an object which they effectually
accomplished. The distress of the people, reacted upon
the general government. When they refused to buy, be-
cause unable to pay, the importations fell off, and as a
consequence, the revenue was so diminished that the
government, from necessity, resorted to loans in order to
obtain means of defraying its current expenses. The
general distress was not a little increased by the measures
of the National Bank. Indeed no confidence could be

placed in the banks except those of New England, which redeemed their notes in specie when presented, while those in other parts of the Union became bankrupt. The density of the population of the New England States enabled them to engage with advantage in manufactures, and also in shipping, and the coasting trade, which was especially profitable. For these reasons they withstood the financial crisis, while the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the other States were overwhelmed.

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1824.

The country, by its own innate energy, began to recover from these financial difficulties. As a means to accomplish that desirable object, an increase of tariff was imposed on imported merchandise, thus to protect domestic industry from undue foreign competition, to create a diversity of pursuits, and develop the resources of the nation.

Congress also manifested its sense of justice by making provision for the wants of the surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolution, and for the widows and orphans of those deceased.

The last year of Monroe's administration was signalized by an event highly gratifying to the people, an event linking the past with the present, the days of conflict and trial with the days of peace and prosperity. The venerable Lafayette came to the United States, the invited guest of the nation. Around every fireside tradition had fondly cherished his memory, and the people loved him as the noble and generous stranger who, in the days of their fathers, had sacrificed his fortune and shed his blood in their country's cause. They vied with each other in doing him honor. His journey from State to State was one continued triumphal procession; compared with this spontaneous expression of a nation's gratitude, how insignificant the proudest triumph of Roman consul or emperor! The vessel designated to carry him home was the new frigate *Brandywine*, a name—given by the new President,

1818.

Mar.

CHAP. John Quincy Adams—that conveyed a delicate compli-
XLVI. —ment, as on the banks of that little stream he was wounded
1825. in his first battle in the cause of American freedom. The
American people wished to manifest still further their
sense of obligation, and Congress conferred upon him two
hundred thousand dollars and a township of land.

When the time came to choose a successor to Monroe—now in his second term—four candidates were put in nomination; John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, General Jackson, and William H. Crawford. No one of the candidates received a majority of the popular vote, and the election devolved upon the House of Representatives, by whom Adams was chosen. John C. Calhoun had been chosen Vice-President by the popular vote.

This election gave the death-blow to the custom of nominating candidates for the Presidency by a caucus held by certain members of Congress. Previous to this, for twenty-four successive years, the candidates had been thus nominated, and consequently chosen from a single State.

CHAPTER XLVII.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

Manufactures and Internal Improvements.—Indian Lands in Georgia.—Death of ex-Presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.—Free Masonry.—Protection to American Industry.—Debates in Congress.—Presidential Contest.

THE new President invited able and experienced men to form his cabinet, at the head of which was Henry Clay, as Secretary of State. This administration was one of remarkable prosperity; the nation was gradually advancing in wealth and happiness, gaining strength at home, and securing more and more of the respect of nations abroad. Every branch of industry was increasing in prosperity; agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

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1825.

Numerous companies had been formed for the purpose of making iron nails, and also for the manufacture of broadcloths, though the latter were soon involved in ruin by "a deluge of English cloths." In those days fine wool was worth a dollar and a half a pound, while badly made broadcloth cost from eight to twelve dollars a yard.

1815.

The wars of Europe opened a wide field for enterprise in the carrying trade. American genius and art produced the style of ship known as the clipper. These far outstripped all others in sailing; they made rapid voyages, and, what was important in those days, they were able very often to evade the French and English cruisers. At first, the United States had but little of their own products

CHAP. XLVII. to send to the old world, but presently Eli Whitney in-
 1793. vented the cotton-gin, by which the seed was separated
 from the cotton, and that gradually became the most im-
 portant article of export.

The great National Road—the work of the General
 Government—extending across the Alleghany Mountains,
 from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, on the Ohio,
 1820. and to be continued to the Mississippi, had just been
 completed, at an expense of one million seven hundred
 thousand dollars. It was commenced in Jefferson's ad-
 ministration, and had been fourteen years in building.
 Its beneficial effects upon the country were very great, in
 thus connecting the valley of the Ohio with the seaboard.

A still more important work was also finished—the
 1825. Erie Canal, uniting the Hudson and the waters of the
 great lakes. It was the work of the State of New York,
 and was completed after a labor of eight years. The pro-
 ject was at first deemed visionary and impracticable;
 but owing principally to the energy of De Witt Clinton,
 privately, as well as a member of the Legislature and as
 Governor, the work was carried through. The completion
 and success of these improvements encouraged the con-
 struction of others in various parts of the Union—one,
 1832. the Ohio Canal, from Lake Erie to the Ohio river. The
 first railway was the Quincy, in Massachusetts, designed
 1827. to transport granite to the sea-shore. The first locomot-
 ive used in the United States was on the Hudson and
 1832. Mohawk Railroad.

A difficult question arose in relation to the removal of
 the Creeks and the Cherokees, from their lands in Georgia
 and Alabama, to the region beyond the Mississippi.
 Georgia claimed jurisdiction over the Indians within her
 territory. Originally claiming the region west of her
 1802. boundary, she ceded it to the United States, on condition
 that the latter should, by purchase, extinguish the title

of the Indian lands reserved within her own limits. The national government promised to fulfil its part of the agreement "as early as the same could be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms." Twenty-five years had passed, and these titles had not been purchased. The Indians were not willing to sell their territory. However, a treaty had been recently made by some of the chiefs, who ceded the lands, but the great majority of the Indians declared these chiefs had no authority to sell the property of the nation. Thus, according to the original contract, the national government could not extinguish the Indian titles.

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The government cancelled this treaty, but the State of Georgia determined to enforce it. The latter sent surveyors into the Indian country, to divide the lands into portions suitable for farms, before distributing them by lottery to the citizens of the State. The Federal government took the part of the poor Indians, and the President proclaimed that he would enforce the laws committed to his trust, while Troup, the bellicose Governor of Georgia, wrote to the Secretary of War: "From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy." The matter for the present was adjusted by the Creeks consenting to dispose of their lands, and to emigrate. Rather than be thus harassed they were willing to remove from their happy homes, and give up their hopes of civilization.

This year was marked by the deaths of two distinguished men, whose names are identified with the history of the government—John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Both were men of liberal education, and both chose the profession of the law; both had been consistent and strenuous advocates of national independence, and were upon the committee which proposed that famous declaration. The one drew it up, and the other was its most efficient supporter; both signed it; both had been on foreign

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missions; both were first Vice-Presidents, and then became Presidents. "They ended their earthly career at the same time and in the same way; in the regular course of nature, in the repose and tranquillity of retirement, in the bosoms of their families, on the soil which their labors had contributed to make free," and within a few hours of each other, on the fiftieth anniversary of American independence.

Sept. A certain William Morgan, of Western New York, a member of the society of Free Masons, suddenly disappeared, he having been seized and forcibly carried off. He had proposed to publish a book revealing the secrets of the order, some of whose members were charged with his murder. The affair created a great excitement, which led to the formation of a political party, whose avowed object was to exclude Free Masons from office. In several of the States the party polled a large number of votes, but in a year or two it disappeared.

July, 1827. The manufacturing interests were still laboring to sustain themselves against foreign competition. The sentiment prevailed, especially in the northern States and in some of the southern, that measures should be taken to protect the industry of the nation. In accordance with this view, a convention of delegates from twenty-two States of the Union assembled at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. Four of the slave States did not send delegates.

The Convention memorialized Congress to grant protection to American industry; to impose a tariff on imported goods, sufficiently high to shield American producers of the same articles from the ruinous effects of foreign competition; and they also asked that this policy should be fixed, and thus give stability to the enterprise of the country. Capital would not be invested in domestic manufactures, if they were liable at any time to be ruined either by the combination of foreign competitors

or by change of policy at home. The people of New England had complained of these changes. Their climate and soil forbade their becoming rivals of their sister States in agriculture, and their industry had been turned into other channels, especially those of commerce and the fisheries. Upon them had fallen nearly all the losses inflicted by the cruisers of France and England, and yet they had been more discouraged and had suffered more loss by the embargoes and other restrictions of their own government. During this period, the central position of New York had been gradually drawing to herself much of the commerce and shipping that once belonged to Boston. A territory so extensive, and climates so diverse, brought into existence many kinds of industry that were liable to be injured or ruined by foreign competition. At first New England was opposed to the policy of protection, and the Middle and Southern States were in its favor. Now this was reversed. New England had been forced to adapt her industry to the change of national policy, while the South had changed her views.

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1828.

Said Webster, when this bill was under discussion in Congress: "New England held back and labored to restrain the General Government from the adoption of this policy, but when it was adopted she then adapted herself to it, and turned herself to manufactures, but now just as she is successful, another change is to be brought about, and she set adrift in another direction."

The South, on the other hand, expected to reap the harvest, not merely from the exports of the raw material, but also a due share of the profits arising from manufactures. She was disappointed in seeing northern towns becoming cities, and southern cities decaying; the North a money lender, the South a borrower. Before the Revolution she was pre-eminently the richest part of the colonies, a position which she fully expected to retain after that period. Hers were the only exports from the

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1828.

May
15.

land; the North was dependent upon commerce and fisheries; both precarious. Since the Revolution, the South had exported more in value than three times all that the mines of Mexico had produced for the same period, yet she did not prosper. This effect she attributed to the protective tariffs of the National Government. She failed to notice that this decline began before these tariffs were imposed. Other causes aided in the result.¹ A bill passed Congress, imposing higher duties upon cottons and woollens, and also other foreign articles, which would come into competition with those of domestic origin. The dissatisfaction felt in South Carolina led, two years after, to the open avowal on her part, of the doctrine of nullification and secession, based upon the ground that the act was unconstitutional.

The contest for the office of President was between Adams and General Jackson. The "era of good feeling" had passed away, and party lines were stringently drawn. The spirit of the contest was more violent than ever before; and the whole nation seemed moved to its very centre. The denunciation of the candidates and their principles was, on both sides, unjust, unreasonable and disgraceful. The choice fell upon Jackson as President, and Calhoun as Vice-President. The election over, the excitement calmed down. This fact, as usual, was adduced as an evidence of the stability of our institutions, and of the willingness of the people to submit to the will of the majority. Yet who does not lament such exhibitions of party strife, or their demoralizing effects?

The nation had never been in a condition so prosperous as at this time. The national debt was much diminished, and a surplus of more than five millions of dollars was in the public treasury. The blessings of peace had been showered upon the land, and it was rejoicing in prosperity and abundance—the rewards of active industry.

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Chap. xxxiv., Vol. i.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Appointments to Office.—Removal of the Indians from Georgia.—Bank of the United States.—Hayne and Webster's Debate.—Nullification.—the Compromise Bill; its final Passage.—Removal of the Deposits.—Effect upon the Country.—Indian Wars.—Black Hawk; Osceola.—Indemnity for French Spoliations.

THE new President nominated the members of his cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren as Secretary of State. The Postmaster-General was now for the first time admitted as a Cabinet Officer.

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1829.

The President professed to take the Constitution as the chart by which he should be governed in fulfilling the duties of his office; rather, it would seem, as he himself understood it, than as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States. His vigorous arm was immediately exerted in favor of his political friends, and this gave to his administration a decided partisan character. The former Presidents, during a period of forty-four years, had removed sixty-four persons from office; during his rule of eight years, Jackson removed six hundred and ninety, and put in their places his political friends. These sweeping removals secured ardent partisans, as well as produced bitter opponents; but regardless of either friend or foe, the President pursued the course he had marked out, with his wonted determination.

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1829.

1833.

During his administration, an unusual number of exciting questions came up for consideration, and the many interests thus involved affected the people in every State in the Union. The first important measure was the removal of the Cherokee Indians from the State of Georgia. They had been protected by the General Government, under Adams. The Supreme Court of the United States had decided in their favor, and against the action of the State; but that decision had little influence with the President. He did not rebuke the State, when she began to drive them from their homes, and to distribute their lands, many of them cultivated farms, among her own citizens. He sent General Scott with troops to remove them, and his kindness and persuasions induced them to migrate peacefully; yet with lamentations, they took leave of "the beloved land."

Their sacrifices as a people were very great, not only in the loss of property, but in the check given to their industrial and moral progress. The self-denying labors of missionaries and teachers had enabled them to advance rapidly toward a Christianized civilization. They derived their sustenance from their own cultivated fields; they clothed themselves almost entirely with the fabrics which their women spun and wove; they lived in settled habitations, some of wood and some of brick; they made provision for the education of their children—five hundred of whom were in schools—besides endowing a National Academy for the youth further advanced. They also established a newspaper, printed partly in English, and partly in their own language. "We hope," said they, "that with God's blessing the time will soon come when the words war-whoop and scalping-knife will be heard no more."

Two of their missionaries, the Rev. S. A. Worcester and Dr. Elisur Butler, were ruthlessly imprisoned in the penitentiary by the authority of the State of Georgia,

though they acted in accordance with the law of the land, ^{CHAP. XLVIII.} as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the State. 1829.

Chief Justice Marshall, in pronouncing the opinion of the court, declared the act of the State to be "repugnant to the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States; and therefore void, and ought to be reversed and annulled," and the prisoners discharged. Yet these men obtained no redress on their appeal to the General Government, either for themselves or the Indians.

When at length liberated from prison, the missionaries accompanied the Indians to their distant homes beyond the Mississippi, there to labor for their good.

The President, in his first message to Congress, intimated his hostility to the Bank of the United States, and his design of refusing his signature to any bill renewing its charter.

However, when the stockholders of the Bank applied to Congress, a bill to renew its charter passed both Houses, and the President refused to sign it. He gave as a reason his opinion that Congress had no constitutional authority to charter such an institution, and moreover he deemed it inexpedient to continue the Bank.

As the bill could not obtain the requisite two-thirds vote to become a law, the Bank was forced to close its affairs, when its charter should expire. 1836.

To understand the causes which led to the attempt at Nullification by South Carolina it is necessary, for the reader's convenience, to notice in a consecutive form certain influences that had been at work from the commencement of the government under the Presidency of George Washington. When the Constitution of the United States was submitted to the people for their 1788. approval or rejection, objections were made to it by a small minority, principally on the ground that its powers

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1787.

were too great over the States. This minority consisted mostly of statesmen belonging to Virginia, two of whose delegates to the convention to frame the Constitution refused to sign it when finished. These were Edmund Randolph and George Mason, with only one other, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. These gentlemen, and those who sympathized with them in their views, made strenuous efforts in several of the States to prevent the acceptance of the Constitution by the people, nor even after it was adopted and the Government inaugurated did they cease in their opposition, though they were unable to have the organic law of the nation changed to suit their views. They were now joined by the most efficient opponent of certain principles of the Constitution—Thomas Jefferson—who had been in France on official duties while the Constitution was being framed and acted upon by the votes of the people; but he had since returned, having been invited by President Washington to enter his Cabinet as Secretary for Foreign Affairs or of State, which office he was now holding.

The Constitution says (Article VI.): "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land." Some of the States, in order to establish a National Government, were unwilling to give up scarcely any portion of the sovereignty which they had hitherto exercised.¹ This was especially the case in the Southern States—Virginia, the principal one, taking the lead. This opposition in later times developed into *extreme views* in relation to State Rights or Sovereignty, whose insidious influence has wrought so much harm to the Nation, in assuming that in some way, though indefinable, the General Government would injure the individual States. The advocates of this theory—"strict construc-

¹ Hist., pp. 564, 565.

tionists" they called themselves—were morbidly suspicious of the National Government, and were continually deprecating its influence upon the States. In accordance with their interpretation, the Constitution would be as inflexible as a cast-iron frame; no permission was given for that instrument—so comprehensive in its principles—to adapt itself to the exigencies of a nation industrious and progressive in its development. Hence the habit of these theorists to exclaim "Unconstitutional!" whenever measures were proposed in Congress that would in their influence extend to the States; for that body to charter a bank was deemed unconstitutional, because, perhaps, in being useful to the general commerce and the industries of the country, it must have branches at commercial centers within the States. Their views were similar in respect to internal improvements made by the National Government.

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XLVIII.
1832.

On the subject of the United States Bank the opposition in this respect came principally from Virginia and those States further south; they being nearly altogether agricultural, there was not so much necessity for a medium of mercantile exchange as in the more commercial and manufacturing free States.

We have already seen Thomas Jefferson¹ secretly exerting his influence against the policy of Washington's administration, and to which he was presumed to be friendly, at least, while holding the most important position in the Cabinet—that of Secretary of State. Instead, he encouraged opposition to its most important measures, which, from their intrinsic merits, have since become the fixed policy of the nation. He stimulated this antagonism in various ways, but principally by diffusing his sentiments privately in letters to his friends, under pledges of secrecy, and by means of the Democratic clubs, whose

¹ Hist., pp. 581, 584.

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XLVIII.

1901.

origin has been noted.¹ Though Vice-President at the time, Jefferson was not in perfect accord with the policy of John Adams's administration, in its efforts to defend the country against the machinations of foreign refugees,² who, with the clubs, wished to embroil the country in the wars then in progress in Europe. Says Albert Gallatin, when writing of this period, "I know that nothing can be more injurious to an administration than to have in that office [Vice-Presidency] a man in hostility to that administration, as he will always become the most formidable rallying-point for the opposition."³

At one time Jefferson was greatly exercised lest the Government should become a monarchy; and some of his friends professed to be alarmed because the people *honored* Washington's birthday, but he soothingly suggested the *theory* that, perhaps, the day was celebrated as that of "a General and not of a President." Yet he was desponding; in one of his letters he says, "The State governments are the best in the world," but that of the United States "has become so arbitrary in the rapid course of nine or ten years, and has swallowed up more of the public liberty than even that of England itself." This paragraph alludes to what is known as the "Sedition Law," which was enacted to punish libel on the Government, or the exciting of "unlawful combinations against the laws." This law, which expired in two years by limitation, was directed in self-defense against a class of foreign adventurers, who as writers in the newspapers were most abusive in denunciation of the administration of John Adams,⁴ which, in respect to the policy of neutrality, followed that of Washington. The law itself, perhaps, was injudicious, and in its brief existence could do little harm, but the political furor—bordering on the

¹ Hist., p. 583.² Hist., p. 594.³ Life of Gallatin, p. 606.⁴ Hist., pp. 592, 593.

ridiculous—which it occasioned among its opponents is not paralleled in American history.

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XLVIII.

To remedy these supposed evils, Jefferson drew up a series of resolutions embodying sentiments that have been often alluded to in our history; these are familiarly known as the "Resolutions of '98." He managed to have them introduced into the Legislature of Virginia, and passed by that body, though their most objectionable features were modified through the influence of James Madison. In the same secret manner he had similar resolutions passed by the Legislature of the recently admitted State of Kentucky. This was accomplished by one of his friends, a Mr. Nicholas, a native of Virginia, but who at this time was a citizen of the new State and a member of its Legislature. It was not known for twenty years that Jefferson was the author of these resolutions, as he had the "solemn assurance that it should not be known from what quarter the resolutions came."¹ These resolutions were sent to the Legislatures of several of the States, and the political principles they endeavored to disseminate elicited much discussion, but little favor from these bodies. Their influence was to show itself in future years. John C. Calhoun was consistent when he characterized Jefferson as "the Apostle of State Rights;"² that is of the *extreme view*, since all advocate the legitimate rights of the States under the Constitution, just as municipal rights of cities chartered by State authority; but that does not imply that these municipalities should dominate the State itself.

1798.

1799.

The eighth of these resolutions announces the theory that "where powers are assumed" (alluding to the United States Government) "which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy; that every

¹ Randall's Life of Jefferson, vol. ii., p. 448.

² Works, vol. ii., p. 268.

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XLVIII.

1832.

State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their [its] own authority all assumptions of power of others within their [its] limits." ¹ On the principles thus enunciated South Carolina determined to "nullify" a United States law, because she of her own authority decided that a tariff, said to be protective to American industry, was "unconstitutional," and thirty years later in a more serious effort to "nullify" the union of the States.

There seems to have been an impression on the minds of great numbers of the American people that the operatives in large factories in Europe were peculiarly degraded as to their morals, and that the temptations to vice were very great in such establishments. It was also added that this was specially the case in the mills for manufacturing cotton and wool, as in these, the work being comparatively light, females and boys were much employed. This was given as one reason why the system of such manufacturing should not be introduced into the United States. Measures, however, were taken to prevent such evils, and when mills were founded at Lowell and afterward at Lawrence, Mass., special efforts were made to secure the influence of pure morals among those employed.

In Lowell the corporation or owners, to prevent evil influences in their mills, provided comfortable boarding-places for the young women, usually farmers' daughters, who were in their employ. These boarding-houses were under the control of worthy and judicious matrons selected for the purpose, and to whose protection the parents in the vicinity were willing to intrust their daughters. These young people had been educated in the public schools, and had acquired a taste for reading;

¹ Randall's Life of Jefferson, vol. ii., p. 450.

to meet this demand the owners provided libraries and reading-rooms; to the latter the operatives also contributed to cover incidental expenses. At one time the young women who worked in the mills issued a periodical, "The Lowell Offering." These facts show the moral tone and mental requirements of a community that would demand proper guaranties before the parents would permit their young people, especially their daughters, to labor in the cotton and woolen mills of the day. In nearly all of the earlier mills founded in New England similar efforts were made to protect and elevate those whom they employed. A change has been in progress, and the reading-rooms and libraries are not so well attended as formerly; the native employees have given way to foreigners, who, unfortunately, care not so much for reading and mental improvement.

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XLVIII.

1822.

1881.

A great advancement was made in the process of manufacturing cotton by the energy of Francis C. Lowell of Boston, who conceived the idea of using water-power in the various operations. He visited Europe and examined the machinery used there, especially that in the mills of England, but to obtain models of which he found impossible, as their machinery was carefully watched lest it should be copied, and he was compelled to depend upon his memory and his own inventive genius. The policy of England in that day, in relation to preserving the secrets of her machinery, was virtually the same as it was forty years before.¹ With the aid of a practical mechanic, Mr. Lowell constructed machinery according to his own designs. This was crude indeed, but he contrived to put in motion 1,700 spindles in a small mill at Waltham, Mass. Here under the same roof cotton was carded, spun, and woven; and it is said to

1813.

¹ Hist., p. 578.

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XLVIII.

have been the first mill in the world in which all the operations of that manufacture were performed.

1822.

Mr. Lowell, from time to time, made improvements in his machinery, and so great was his success that a few enterprising gentlemen formed a company, and at a certain point purchased the land along the banks of the Merrimac, thus securing its entire water-power. On this purchase now stands the flourishing city of Lowell—thus named in honor of its indefatigable projector. Here was inaugurated on a firm basis the American system of manufacturing cotton. Within a dozen years from that time there were nearly 800 cotton factories—some of these were very small—in the Union; 738 were in the Free States, and of these 508 were in New England alone.¹ From that time forward the increase has been enormous.

1816
to
1826.

During this period the industry of printing calicoes was carried on but in a crude form; since then it has grown to large proportions under the influence of American inventions and improvements. At that time four colors was the highest number impressed at one movement; this has since been increased to twenty.

The war of 1812 threw the American people upon their own mechanical resources to furnish themselves the needed manufactured articles, which for the greater part had hitherto been supplied by the workshops of England. During this period of about three years the native ingenuity in the invention and application of machinery to manufacturing purposes of various kinds developed rapidly. The war itself afforded sufficient protection from the skill of England and the low wages paid her operatives. In less than two years after the restoration of peace and the renewal of trade the American manufacturers found themselves utterly ruined by the immense

¹ Industrial Hist. U. S., p. 412.

influx of English merchandise, which had been accumulating for years, and was now thrown upon the American market at prices sometimes even below their original cost. The English merchants had two objects in view: one to stifle the manufacturing industries that had received an impulse during the war, and the other to keep permanent control of the American market. This they hoped to accomplish by means of English skill and the low wages paid their workmen. The latter item gave the foreigner an immense advantage, as the American must pay higher wages because of the much fewer number willing to be thus employed.

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1816
to
1826.

The statesmen of that day, who had far-reaching views, saw that the alternative was either to abandon the policy of advancing the mechanical industries of the people altogether, or counterbalance the advantages of the European manufacturer in his skill and the low wages paid his operatives. They chose the latter policy. This was to impose a tariff sufficiently high to equalize the cost of production and enable the American manufacturer to compete with the European on equal terms, and at the same time to afford an opportunity for employment to those of our own people who worked for wages; to introduce diversities of industry, and develop the natural resources of the country, even then supposed to be enormous.¹

When the question of revising the tariff came before Congress some of the "strict constructionists" suggested that the Constitution authorized a tariff for "revenue alone;" that is an imposition of duty in such a manner as to produce the most revenue to the Government, and it would seem without reference to the industrial interests of the people. A question arose which has puzzled Congress ever since: "Where does the rate of a tariff for

1816.

¹ Natural Resources of the United States, by J. Harris Patton.

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XLVIII.

1816. 'revenue alone' terminate, and that for 'protection' begin?" On this occasion John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that a tariff sufficiently high to protect the industries of the people was constitutional, saying, "manufactures ought to be countenanced by the Government," and "they will arrive at a certain perfection under its fostering care;" and he urged Congress to "afford to ingenuity and industry immediate and ample protection." Afterward in the days of Nullification he said, "I, in common with the almost entire South, gave my support to the tariff of 1816."¹ Senator George McDuffie of the same State, in speaking of this tariff, says, "I most perfectly accord in the policy which dictated that measure." James Madison wished the commercial laws revised to "protect and foster the several branches of manufactures." "The *constitutionality* of the procedure is not at all thought of, the *expediency* of it is warmly recommended."² With this understanding a tariff was imposed upon coarse cottons, woolens, and many other manufactured articles, which tariff was amended from time to time during twelve years. This had ever been the national policy; the first tariff imposed by Congress and signed by Washington in its preamble says it was required, "for the support of the Government, and for the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures."
- 1789.

1816. During the war of 1812, to cover the unusual expense, and to supply the deficiency caused by the falling off of import duties which had nearly ceased altogether, taxes were imposed on many home-made articles. It was now proposed to relieve the people of these burdensome taxes on their own manufactures, and supply the deficiency by increasing the duties on the corresponding foreign-made articles. Thus the object was twofold: to raise the

¹ Works, vol. ii., pp. 166-170.

² Niles Reg., vol. xxxvi., p. 82.

needed revenue, and to encourage domestic industry; of this policy Henry Clay was the ardent advocate. In accordance with this a tariff was imposed on certain classes of articles; "1st, those of which a full domestic supply could be produced; 2d, those of which only partial domestic supply could be afforded; and 3d, those produced at home very slightly, or not at all."¹

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XLVIII.
1816.

The cotton-growing States "at that time had a particular interest in encouraging the domestic manufacture of cotton." Such were the views of Calhoun and Lowndes, of South Carolina—the latter reporting the bill to Congress. A heavy duty was imposed on woolen and cotton cloths of various grades; also on iron in all its forms, on spirits, on sugars—the latter to encourage the Louisiana sugar-planter; on hemp and lead to aid the Kentucky farmer and the Illinois miner. The proposed duty on indigo unfortunately failed, as that article was a valuable product of the low lands of South Carolina and Georgia.² Neither the cereals nor raw cotton needed protection—the latter staple having virtually the monopoly of the world, both as to quantity and quality. After the acquisition of Louisiana the southern portion of the country was deemed by many the richest portion of the Union in its agricultural products—cotton, tobacco, and sugar; the first especially, since the invention of the cotton-gin, had become greatly enhanced in value as a most important export. This theory seemed to pervade the minds of some of the leading men of that section.³ So little did these statesmen know or even suspect of the inherent though thus far latent power of intelligent and industrious communities as those in the Free States, where labor as such was reckoned respectable. This power was wonderfully developed, when manufactures

¹ Hildreth, vol. vi., p. 585. ² Benton's Thirty Years' View, vol. i., p. 97.

³ Hist., p. 624.

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XLVIII.

were introduced into these States under the "fostering care" of the legislation of 1816 and onward.

[1816.

It was then supposed the slaves could be taught to manufacture the coarser grades of cotton cloth, with which they themselves were for the most part clothed. It was therefore important to the masters to introduce that manufacture among the employments of their slaves, who could thus have work through the entire year. But after a few years of trial it was found that from their ignorance, want of perseverance, and lack of interest in their work they were inefficient in manufacturing cotton; they could only hoe and pick it, and that under the harsh supervision of overseers. Similar measures failed to succeed in the factory, where more intelligence and skill were required. Hence the complaints made against the tariff (in Nullification times), that it ruined the South or cotton-producing States.¹ This statement does not seem correct in the light of facts, for the decline commenced many years before.² It is also inconsistent with statistics which show that in 1815 the coarse cotton sheetings, with which the slaves were mostly clothed, cost *forty* cents a yard—being made chiefly on hand looms—while a better material in 1829 cost but *eight and one-half* cents, thus cheapened by the advance made in manufacturing by machinery.³

1829.

Meanwhile the fall in the price of raw cotton was only about two-fifths as much as that of the woven material—this advantage accruing to the planter. A writer⁴ states that at this time (1829) "The cost of a good cotton summer suit for a field hand, taking six yards, was seventy-five cents, and that a winter suit of negro cloth cost three dollars;" other expenses were at an equally low rate. Yet the Nullifiers proclaimed

¹ See Hist., p. 723, for opinions of McDuffie and Hayne.

² Benton's Thirty Years' View, vol. i., p. 101.

³ Industrial Hist. U. S., p. 414.

⁴ Niles Register.

that their section was ruined by tariffs, and they entered upon a crusade against any policy that aided the mechanical industries of the country. This was on the ground that such aid was unconstitutional.¹ The protest of South Carolina pronounced protective duties "*Unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.*" As the tariff, however low, is to that extent a protection to the American manufacturer of the same kind of article, it would follow from this that *Free Trade* alone was constitutional. By a similar process of reasoning, extremists among the slave-owning statesmen argued that the best social condition was for the capitalist to own those whom he employed; in other words, that "all laborers should be slaves." Such were the views of John C. Calhoun and George McDuffie, and others. The motives that influenced the minds of these legislators were radically different. The statesmen of the Slave States, from the nature of the case, had reference alone to the advantages that would accrue to the masters; while those of the Free States had reference as much to that large class who obtained their support from wages as to the capitalist who invested his money in manufacturing industries.

At the commencement of the war of 1812 England was buying our raw cotton and sending it back in the form of cloth made by machines driven by steam, while at that time in the United States were very few, perhaps no factories for weaving cotton-cloth,—the mill at Beverly having failed. There were in the country a few small mills for spinning cotton yarn, and the weaving was done by hand on domestic looms; hence this product was termed "domestics."

Our statesmen then desired to encourage the manufacture of cottons and woollens in all their forms; but to do so the people must contend with the acquired skill

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1829.

¹ Debates in Congress, vol. x., pp. 243-245.

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- and machinery of England, and the low wages paid her operatives. The same causes gave an impulse to the manufacture of woollens, though this industry remained for a long time in the hands of the household. Not till 1816 and onward was a definite impetus given to the manufacture of woollen goods in its varied forms. The supply of native wool was not sufficient, and to obtain which great exertions were made to induce the farmers to raise sheep for its production. To secure the finest quality merino sheep were imported from Spain, and wool-growing became an important industry. The pioneer woollen mills only wove the yarn spun in the household in the vicinity. Carding and fulling mills came into existence to aid and complete the domestic manufacture, and finally in the course of years the work was performed, or nearly so, under the same roof by means of machinery. The advance, however, was not so rapid in the woollen as in the cotton manufacture. The States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut took energetic measures to advance the manufacture of wool. Vermont became the producer of the finest wool in New England, yet it remained for another State—Tennessee—to exhibit the finest specimen wool at the first World's Fair at London.

Our manufacture of wool has come oftener than any other of our industries in competition with the skill and the low wages paid operatives in England, Belgium, and France, and in consequence has had unusual difficulties to overcome.

1816. The depression in the industrial interests of the coun-
to
1820. try after the war of 1812 was very great. Henry Clay estimated the property of the United States to have sunk in value one-half in the course of four years. This estimate was no doubt in respect to the States outside New England. The people of that section by their industrial enterprise and economy had secured success in many

respects, especially in their shipping interest, including the carrying trade between foreign nations during the wars of Napoleon, the coasting trade of their own country, the fisheries along their coasts, and for whales in the Arctic seas. In consequence of this accumulation of capital their finances were in a good condition, and their banks were sound and able to redeem their notes in specie when presented at their counters, while in the rest of the Union financial distress more or less prevailed.

CHAP.
XLVIII.
1820.

The term protection is unfortunate, inasmuch that many are led astray, thinking that those who manufacture were protected or aided by the Government at the expense of the other portion of the people. The term is a misnomer; it should be designated an *equalizing measure*, designed to put our own workmen and those who employ them on equal terms as manufacturers with the foreigners, who have the advantage in acquired skill, low rate of interest on capital, and more than all, in the small amount of wages paid their operatives. Making the terms thus equal to the manufacturers of both lands, if the American, by means of his energy and mechanical inventions, and the better education of his workmen in industrious habits, is more successful, he and the people have a right to the advantages thus acquired. The "strict constructionists" thought Congress had no authority to levy a tariff so as to equalize the expense of manufacturing in the United States with that in Europe.

Senator Foote of Connecticut submitted a resolution of inquiry as to the disposal of the public lands. The debate on the resolution took a wide range, in the course of which the young and brilliant Senator, Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, avowed the opinion that any State had a right, as a sovereign power, to declare null and void any act of Congress which that State deemed unconstitutional. This was the first time that the doctrine of *nullification*

1830.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

1832.

had been openly maintained in the councils of the nation —the sentiments rather of Calhoun the Vice-President than of the speaker himself; a doctrine based upon the assumption that the National Government was a compact between the States, and that any of them could at pleasure recede from the Union.

Daniel Webster at once pointed out the injurious results to the Union if these principles were acted upon.

This debate, continued for several days, and not only from the masterly manner in which it was conducted, but from the influence it exerted upon the minds of the American people, was one of the most important that ever occurred in the Halls of Congress. Webster clearly exposed the fallacy of the argument adduced to prove that the National Government was a compact of sovereign, independent States; or that any of them were at liberty to withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the others. On the contrary, he urged that the Constitution was the work of the people themselves, not as members of each independent State, but as members of all the States; and that the Supreme Court was the tribunal authorized to decide in cases of conflict between the States and the General Government. Says the venerable Chancellor Kent in reference to the discussion, and especially Webster's speech: "It turned the attention of the public to the great doctrines of national rights and national union. Constitutional law was rescued from the archives of our tribunals and the libraries of our lawyers, placed under the eye, and submitted to the judgment of the American people." And heartily did they respond to the sentiment that the "Union must be preserved." The importance of the subject awakened an intense interest in the nation, and the reports of the discussion were read and commented upon by millions. This debate really settled the question of nullification; and its influence upon the public mind

created a moral power which gave a death-blow to the dangerous design then in existence.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

1832.

Congress, in revising the tariff, instead of diminishing, increased the duties on many articles. This gave still greater offence to the cotton-growing States, who complained, that they in consequence paid exorbitant prices, especially for cottons and woollens. The question became in some respects a sectional one. The North on the one hand had accommodated her industry to manufactures; she had acquired skill, and was unwilling to sacrifice this and also an immense amount of invested capital. She thought it unjust that her interests should be injured, if not ruined, by a change of the policy under which she had been compelled to turn her attention to that particular sphere of industry. On the other hand, the South, pointing to her exhausted fields, especially in the Atlantic States, and their diminution of population, exclaimed: See what the tariff has done! Says McDuffie of South Carolina, on the floor of Congress: "Look, sir, at the present aspect of the Southern States. In no part of Europe will you see the same indications of decay. Deserted villages, houses falling to ruin, impoverished lands thrown out of cultivation." The reason that the South did not derive benefit from the imposition of a tariff was admitted by Hayne himself. "The slaves," said he in the Senate, "are too improvident, too incapable of minute, constant, delicate attention, and the persevering industry which is essential to the success of manufacturing establishments." Similar sentiments were expressed by other members of Congress.

July.

The States of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina were the most opposed to the measure, but only the latter took the responsibility of openly resisting the collection of duties imposed by this law of Congress. She published an ordinance to that effect, and denied the authority of

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XLVIII.

the General Government to enforce what she deemed an unconstitutional law.

1833.

The President immediately issued a proclamation, moderate in its language but determined in tone. In plain terms he expressed his views upon the subject, and intimated that he would vindicate the power intrusted to his hands. He appealed "to the understanding and patriotism of the people of the State, and warned them of the consequences that must inevitably result from obeying the dictates of the convention," which had advised resistance to the law.

Feb.
11.

Previous to this, Calhoun had resigned the vice-presidency, and now appeared in the Senate in the place of Hayne, who had retired to take the office of Governor of South Carolina, and who now replied to the President by a counter proclamation. He warned the people of the State against "the dangerous and pernicious doctrines" in that document, and called upon them to disregard "those vain menaces" of military force, "to be fully prepared to sustain the dignity and protect the liberties of the State, if need be, with their lives and fortunes."

Nothing daunted, South Carolina proclaimed herself hostile to the Union, and resolved to maintain her rights as a Sovereign State, by organizing troops and providing munitions of war. Meantime her Legislature passed laws which forbade the collection of United States revenue within her boundaries; and intimated that if an attempt was made by the General Government to enforce the collection of such duties, she would exercise her right to secede from the Union, and "forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." The attitude of the State was imposing and resolute. But the President was equally as decided in his measures to enforce the laws. Soon a national vessel, with troops on board, appeared in the harbor of Charleston; they came to aid the officers in the collection of the revenue. The State receded from

her defiant position, and the storm calmed down; the famous Tariff Compromise, just passed by Congress, furnished a convenient reason for that act of prudence.

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1833.

Henry Clay was the principal author of the measure, and to him belongs the honor of introducing it into the Senate. The Compromise consisted in gradually diminishing for ten years the imposts, till they should arrive at a uniform rate of twenty per cent.—the revenue standard for which the opponents of the tariff contended.

Mar.
3.

The secret history of the final passage of that Compromise bill in the Senate is singular. Its opponents had denounced the principle of protection to American industry, as unconstitutional. In order to prevent opposition to the bill on that ground, after it had become a law, it was necessary that those opposing it should be induced to vote for it; to vote, not only for the bill as a whole, but for its separate articles. The crisis was near. The President had determined to enforce the law; he scouted the idea of compromise, and stood ready to arrest the leaders, especially Calhoun, and bring him to trial for treason. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, privately gave the parties to understand that he should move to lay the bill on the table, where it should lie, unless the nullifiers should one and all give it their individual support. He assured them that there was a sufficient number of senators (whose names he refused to give), to prevent its passage, if this condition was not complied with. The amendments to the bill had all passed but the last; the one which embodied the principle of home valuation. This Calhoun and his friends opposed with great vehemence. Clayton moved to lay the bill on the table, and no persuasion could induce him to withdraw the motion. The opponents of the measure withdrew from the hall for a few minutes, to consult. One of their number presently returned and requested Clayton to withdraw his motion, to give time to consider the amendment. He consented,

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XLVIII.

1833.

Mar.
3.

with the understanding that, if necessary, he would renew it. That night, consultations were held by the Southern members. The next day, when the bill was under consideration, it was intimated that it could be passed without the aid of Calhoun's vote. But Clayton was inflexible—his vote must be given for the bill, or nothing would be secured by it. It was the last day of the session—another Congress would not meet for months. It was a solemn hour. If the impending collision between the State and the Government should occur, who could tell what would be the result? How could South Carolina be extricated from the difficulties of her position? Calhoun remained to the last, his friends one by one voting for the amendment. After making a few remarks on the conditions upon which he should act, he also voted for the amendment, and afterward for the bill as a whole.¹

On the fourth of March, General Jackson entered upon his second term of office, with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Vice-President. The principal opposing candidate was Henry Clay.

According to its charter, the Bank of the United States was the legal depository of the public funds. The Secretary of the Treasury only, with the sanction of Congress, had authority to remove them. By resolution, Congress had expressed the opinion that the public moneys were safe in the keeping of the Bank. The President thought differently. When Congress was not in session, he made known to the Cabinet his intention to remove the public funds from the custody of the Bank, and to transfer them to certain State Banks. The majority of the Cabinet were opposed to the measure. As he could not reach the money except through the Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, he directed

¹ Thirty Years' View, Vol. i. Chap. lxxxv.

him to remove the deposits; but the Secretary viewing the measure as "unnecessary, unwise, arbitrary, and unjust," refused. The President immediately dismissed him from office, and appointed Roger B. Taney, afterward Chief Justice, in his place, who hastened to issue an order to the collectors, forbidding them to deposit the public moneys in the Bank of the United States. The intention being to withdraw the funds already in its possession, as they should be needed in defraying the current expenses of the government.

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XLVIII.

1833.

Oct.

The measure spread distrust through the whole mercantile community, and destroyed that confidence which is essential to the success of business transactions. The notes of the Bank were at par throughout the Union, but now the whole system of exchange was thrown into confusion. Universal distress prevailed. The wages of daily laborers were especially depressed. Memorials from all parts of the country poured into Congress, asking it to adopt measures that would give relief. After a time, the State banks endeavored to relieve the monetary distress by liberal loans. These loans, in turn, were the occasion of exciting a spirit of speculation that produced still greater evils.

The Administration was not exempt from Indian troubles. Some of the north-western tribes, led by Black Hawk, a chief of the Sac nation, made incursions against the frontier settlements of Illinois. The government sent troops, under General Atkinson, who soon, with the aid of the militia, drove the savages beyond the Mississippi. In one of the skirmishes, Black Hawk himself was captured. To impress him with the greatness of the nation, he was first taken to Washington, and then to visit the principal eastern cities.

1832.

Two years afterward an attempt was made by the government to remove the Seminole Indians beyond the

CHAP.
XLVIII.

1834.

Mississippi River. They refused to emigrate, and another Indian war was the consequence. Skulking through the swamps and woods of Florida, the savages would suddenly dash into the settlements to murder and destroy. Many valuable lives were thus lost. Among these were Major Dade, and more than a hundred men, who all perished by falling into an ambushade. On the same day, the United States' agent, Mr. Wiley Thompson, and five of his friends were killed and scalped by Osceola, the leading chief of the Seminoles. The year before, Thompson had injudiciously offended the savage, by confining him in irons for a day. Though he feigned friendship, his proud spirit thirsted to revenge the insult. The Creeks joined the Seminoles, and attacked several villages, both in Georgia and Alabama. The unhealthy vapors of the swamps, the bites of poisonous snakes and insects, inflicted intense sufferings upon the troops. It was impossible to subdue the Indians, who, after their attacks upon the Whites, would retreat to their hiding-places in the swamps. Led by Osceola, the war, or rather skirmishing, continued for years; the troops were baffled again and again. At length his own policy, of making treaties only to break them, was practised upon himself. One day he appeared under a flag of truce at the American camp. General Jessup, who was in command, immediately made him prisoner, with all his followers. Osceola was sent to Charleston, and while there confined in Fort Moultrie, a fever terminated his eventful life.

1837.

1842.

1836.

Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States, was sent to succeed Jessup. Taylor, by great exertions, brought the war to a close, but not till it had lasted altogether seven years, and cost the nation many lives, and thirty millions of dollars.

During this administration, died John Marshall, one of the most remarkable men of the time, at the age of four-score. He had served in the army of the Revolution,

and won the esteem of Washington; had been a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and Minister to France. President John Adams nominated him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, over which for thirty-five years he presided "with native dignity and unpretending grace." His solidity of judgment, his reasoning powers, his acute and penetrating mind, were remarkable, and none the less striking were the purity of his Christian life and his simplicity of manner.

CHAP.
XLVIII.
1836.

The maxim of foreign policy acted upon by the President was "to ask nothing but what was right, and to submit to nothing that was wrong." American merchants had claims, amounting to five millions of dollars, against the French government. They had remained unsettled for twenty years. These indemnities were for "unlawful seizures, captures, and destruction of vessels and cargoes," during the wars of Napoleon. The government of Louis Philippe acknowledged their justice, and by treaty engaged to pay them. But the Chamber of Deputies, at different times during, three years, refused to appropriate the money. The President sent a message to Congress, recommending reprisals upon French property if the treaty was not complied with. The French Chambers took offence at the tone of the message, and although Congress had not acted upon its suggestions, they refused to pay the money unless the obnoxious proposal was withdrawn. This brought another message, in which the President reviewed the difficulties existing between the governments. Said he: "Come what may, the explanation which France demands can never be accorded; and no armament (alluding to a French fleet then on our coast), however powerful and imposing, will, I trust, deter us from discharging the high duties which we owe to our constituents, to our national character, and to the world." He suggested to Congress to prohibit the entrance of

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XLVIII.

French imports into our ports, and the interdiction of all commercial intercourse.

1836.

The Chamber of Deputies soon after paid the money to satisfy the claims and fulfill the treaty.

Equally successful was the President in arranging other difficulties of long standing; claims for similar seizures and spoliations against Spain, Naples, and Denmark. Also treaties of commerce and friendship were negotiated with Russia and the Ottoman Empire—the first American treaty with the latter power.

Two States, Arkansas and Michigan, were added to the Union; the original thirteen had now doubled.

Nov.

After a spirited contest Martin Van Buren, of New York, was elected President by the people, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Vice-President, not by the electoral vote, but by the Senate.

General Jackson's administration will ever be memorable for its measures and for its influence. The nation was greatly agitated by conflicts of opinion in relation to his official acts, since he professed to be governed by the Constitution, *not* as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, but as he *himself* understood it—a disrespect for constituted law which in after years was not without malign influence. He introduced extensively¹ the vicious system of removing persons from minor offices for political purposes alone, filling their places with partisans. From that day this custom has been a corrupting element in the nation's politics. Arbitrary in the extreme, he had quarrels with his Cabinet for reasons unworthy the record of history. Though intensely patriotic, and not famed for legal acquirements, he had little respect for law or decisions of courts if they did not coincide with his own notions and prejudices; but his energy and determined will enabled him to carry his points in defiance of opposition and established usages.

¹ Hist., p. 705.

CHAPTER XLIX.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

Apparent Prosperity.—The Specie Circular.—The Surplus Funds.—
Suspension of Specie Payments.—Speculation.—Special Session
of Congress.—The Sub-Treasury.—State Indebtedness.

THE last year of Jackson's administration appeared to be one of very great national prosperity. The public debt had been cancelled two years before, and there were nearly forty millions of dollars of surplus. This prosperity was fallacious in the extreme.

CHAP.
XLIX.
1837.

The State Banks, called in derision the "Pets," with whom the deposits had been placed, loaned money freely, with the expectation that they should continue to have the use of the public funds until they were called for by the Government. That time seemed to be distant, as its revenue was greater than its current expenses.

Other banks sprang into existence, until the number amounted, throughout the land, to seven hundred and fifty. These institutions had very little gold or silver in their vaults, as a means to redeem the notes with which they flooded the country, giving a fictitious value to every thing that was bought or sold. They rivalled each other in affording facilities for the wildest schemes of speculation.

The public lands became an object of this speculation, until the sales amounted to millions in a month. Two acts—the one of the late President; the other of Con-

CHAP.
XLIX

1837.

July.
1836.

May.

gress—combined to hasten the crisis. President Jackson, in order to restrain the undue sales of the public lands, had issued, through the Treasury Department, an order known as the Specie Circular, requiring the collectors at the offices to receive only gold and silver in payments for land. Six months later, Congress passed a law to distribute among the States the government funds, on deposit in the banks. They were thus forced to call in their loans to meet this demand, while the Specie Circular arrested the circulation of their notes, and brought them back to their counters, to be exchanged for gold and silver. Within six months after this distribution was ordered, the business of the whole country was prostrated: all improvements ceased, and twenty thousand laboring men were, within a few weeks, thrown out of employment in New York City alone, where the failures amounted to one hundred millions of dollars, while those of New Orleans were as great in proportion, being twenty-seven millions. A few weeks later, the banks of New York City suspended specie payment; an example which the other banks of the country hastened to follow.

Previous to the suspension of payments, a large and respectable committee of merchants of New York visited Washington, to lay before the new President the state of the country. Similar representations went from almost every section of the land. The President denied the request of the committee to rescind the Specie Circular, but proposed to call a Special Session of Congress, on the first Monday of the following September.

The extent to which speculation raged seems almost fabulous. The compromise tariff had nearly run its course, and the duty arrived at its minimum; foreign merchandise was imported in unheard-of quantities, thus ruining domestic industry; internal improvements, because of the facility in obtaining loans, were projected to an extent almost without limit; the public lands were bought by

the millions of acres, and cities and villages were multiplied on *paper* by hundreds; and stranger still, the sites of these prospective cities, divided into lots, were frequently made the basis of money transactions. CHAP.
XLIX.
1837.

A few months before, the General Government was free from debt, and had a surplus of forty millions. Now the surplus had been given to the States; the importers had neither gold nor silver to pay duties, and the Government itself was deprived of the means to defray its current expenses.

When Congress assembled, the President made no suggestion as to the manner in which the commercial embarrassments of the country might be relieved, on the ground that the General Government was unauthorized by the Constitution to afford such relief. He was therefore in favor of the people taking care of themselves. The message contained, however, two recommendations; one the issue of Treasury notes, to relieve the Government's own embarrassments, the other an Independent Treasury for the public funds. The object of the latter was to avoid the liability of loss by depositing the public moneys in banks. These treasuries were to be located at suitable places; the sub-treasurers to be appointed by the President, and to give bonds for the proper fulfilment of their duties. Sept.
4.

The measure was opposed, lest the withdrawal of so much gold and silver from circulation would injure commercial operations. The bill failed in the House, though it passed the Senate. Three years later it was established; the next year repealed—then re-enacted, five years after, and is still the law of the land.

The Legislatures of many of the States became imbued with the spirit of speculation, and as a means to obtain loans, issued State stocks to the amount of one hundred millions. This was done under the laudable pretext of developing their resources, by internal improvements.

CHAP. XLIX.
1838. Eight of the States failed to pay the interest on these loans or stocks. In time they recovered from the shock, and but one of them, Mississippi, and one territory, Florida, repudiated their debt and defied their creditors. These loans were principally obtained in Europe, where, on the subject of these failures to pay, great indignation was expressed. The whole nation was dishonored;—two years later, when the National Government wished to obtain a loan, her agents could not induce a capitalist in all Europe to risk a dollar in such investment.

As the administration of Van Buren drew to a close, the financial condition of the country did not much improve. However, his party nominated him, as well as Vice-President Johnson, for a second term. The opposing candidate was William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, whom we have seen as a popular general of the north-
1812. west during the last war, as well as filling many civil offices with honor to himself and profit to the country. On the same ticket was John Tyler of Virginia, as the
1840. candidate for Vice-President. Harrison was elected by a very large majority. The commercial disasters of the country were generally attributed to the interference of the Government with the currency; this belief had caused a great revulsion in the public mind.

CHAPTER L.

HARRISON AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

the Inauguration.—Death of Harrison.—Tyler President.—Sub-Treasury Act repealed.—Bankrupt Law.—The Bank Charters; their Vetoes.—Proposition to treat with Great Britain.—Insurrection in Canada.—The Caroline.—Trial of McLeod.—Boundary Disputes in Maine.—Lord Ashburton.—Treaty of Washington.—Questions of Visit and Impressment.—Exploring Expedition.—Texas Colonization; struggles.—Independence.—Siege of Goliad and the Alamo.—Davy Crocket.—Massacre of Prisoners.—Battle of San Jacinto.—Houston President.—Question of Annexation in Congress.—Texas Annexed.—Disturbances in Rhode Island.—Iowa and Florida become States.

AN immense concourse of people, many of them from distant parts of the Union, assembled at Washington to witness the inauguration of General Harrison. His address on that occasion was replete with wisdom; liberal and generous, and patriotic in its tone; a transcript of the sincerity of his own heart. His selection of officers to compose his Cabinet was unanimously confirmed by the Senate; at its head was Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State.

CHAP.
L.
1841.
Mar.
4.

The certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the General Government inspired confidence in the commercial world, and the nation, made wiser by adversity, began to hope. But the expectations of the President's friends were doomed to be sadly disappointed. His first official act was to issue a proclamation, calling a special session of Congress, to meet on the 31st of the

CHAP. following May, to take into consideration the condition of
 L. the country. Before that day arrived, the President was
 1841. no more. Suddenly taken ill, all human remedies failed
 April. to give relief, and he expired, just one month after his
 inauguration, in his sixty-ninth year. For the first time,
 death had removed the Chief Magistrate of the Union
 when in office. The loss came home to the hearts of the
 people. Throughout the length and breadth of the land
 they vied with each other in doing honor to his memory.
 Since the death of Washington, the nation had not
 mourned a loss with such imposing ceremonies. This deep
 and pervading sentiment of sorrow was the tribute due the
 memory of a good man; one who had served his country
 with most scrupulous integrity for more than forty years;
 whose whole life, public and private, was without reproach.
 Though in public office the greater part of his life, his
 salaries had passed away in charities and hospitalities;
 to his house the humblest of the land as well as the most
 exalted, had been welcomed; the poor man's friend, he
 himself died poor. At its very first session after his
 death, Congress, "out of consideration of his expenses in
 removing to the seat of government, and the limited
 means which he had left behind," granted his widow one
 year's presidential salary—twenty-five thousand dollars.

JOHN TYLER.

May 31. The Vice-President became the President, according
 to the provisions of the Constitution. He retained the
 Cabinet of his predecessor, giving them assurances of his
 respect. Congress convened for the extra session at the
 time designated. One of its first measures was to repeal
 the Sub-Treasury act of the last administration. To
 this regulation for the keeping of the public funds much
 of the pressure in the money market was attributed.

The failures in the mercantile world had brought ruin

upon thousands of upright and enterprising men. They ^{CHAP.} had become hopelessly bankrupt, in many instances, by ^{L.} ——— circumstances beyond their control; involved in debts, 1842. which would forever crush their energies without benefiting their creditors, themselves, or the country. To relieve persons thus insolvent, Congress passed a general bankrupt law. The effect of the measure was beneficial, and when the necessity for its existence had passed away, it was repealed.

One of the issues involved in the last presidential election, was the policy of establishing a United States Bank or "Financial Agent," which should facilitate mercantile exchanges throughout the Union. The result of the election had shown that the majority of the people were in favor of such an institution. In compliance with this expression of the popular will, both Houses of Congress passed a bill chartering such a National Bank. Contrary to expectation, the President refused to give it his signature. Another bill was passed, modified in its provisions to accord with his own suggestions. This he also refused to sign. These successive vetoes raised a terrible storm of indignation against their author, though when nominated he was known to be opposed to the United States Bank. The great party, by whose votes he held his high position, charged him with double dealing; with betraying the trust they had committed to his hands. The members of his cabinet immediately resigned their places, and gave to the country their reasons for so doing. Daniel Webster alone remained, lest the public interests would suffer by his withdrawal before the completion of certain negotiations upon which he was then engaged.

Between the United States government and that of Great Britain two important questions of controversy remained unadjusted. One growing out of certain revolu-

CHAP. tionary disturbances along the Canada borders; and the
 L. other in relation to the north-eastern boundary between
 1842. the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The former of these had been pending during the previous administration, the latter for fifty years.

Soon after entering upon his duties as Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, with the sanction of the President, intimated to the British Minister at Washington, that the Government of the United States was desirous to arrange the boundary dispute by agreeing on a line by compromise, or convention. The proposition was received in the friendly spirit in which it had been given, and the British ministry deputed Lord Ashburton, as special minister to the United States, with full powers to settle
 1837. all points of controversy between the two governments.

During the first year of Van Buren's administration the people of both the Canadas endeavored to throw off their allegiance to England, and to declare themselves independent. This movement enlisted the sympathies of great numbers in the neighboring States. In northern New York associations were formed, called "Hunters' Lodges," whose object was to aid the patriots. These illegal combinations flourished in spite of the efforts made by the President and the Governor of New York to suppress them.

About seven hundred of these "sympathizers," with some of the patriots, took possession of Navy Island, in Niagara river, near the Canada shore, to which province it belonged. Thither the steamboat *Caroline* was employed in transporting men, arms, and provisions from Schlosser, on the American shore. The British authorities determined to destroy this boat. Accordingly a detachment was sent on a dark night in December for that purpose; the officer in command not finding the boat at Navy Island, as expected, passed over to Schlosser, where she was moored at the dock. He captured the boat, and in

the short struggle which ensued, an American was killed. CHAP.
L.
 The Caroline was taken out into the middle of the stream, there set on fire, and left to pass over the falls in a blaze. 1837.
 The British Minister at Washington, Mr. Fox, immediately avowed the act, and justified it on the ground that it was done in self-defence. This avowal changed the aspect of the controversy—it was now between the governments. The excitement was by no means allayed, nor the activity of the “lodges” diminished. 1840. Three years afterward a still stronger feeling of hostility sprang up between the two countries. A certain Alexander McLeod, a British subject, living in Canada, it was rumored, had boasted of being at the taking of the Caroline, and also that he himself had killed the American. McLeod visited the State of New York at the time just mentioned, the authorities of which immediately arrested him on the charge of murder. The British government demanded his release, unconditionally, on the ground that he was obeying the orders of his government, which alone was responsible. The State refused to relinquish, either to the National Government or to Great Britain, her right to bring the prisoner to trial, for the crime it was alleged he had committed on her soil. The trial came on, and McLeod was acquitted, he having proved that he was not present at the affray at all. In order to prevent, for the future, clashings of State jurisdiction with that of the National Government, Congress passed a law requiring similar cases to be transferred to the United States courts.

While these events were in progress in the State of New York, difficulties, equally ominous, were brewing on the north-eastern boundary. The inhabitants on either side undertook to say where the line should be; as they could not agree, the more belligerent were in favor of fighting, and consequently some trifling collisions took place. The Legislature of Maine even appropriated money for the defence of her territorial rights—and fur

CHAP. L. ther collisions were prevented only by the conciliatory
— and judicious policy of General Scott, who was sent by
1840. the President to maintain the peace.

These disputes so long unsettled, very greatly disturbed the harmony existing between the two nations. The correspondence between their governments shows that at this time the controversy had assumed a serious and delicate character, and that it required the exercise of great wisdom, and a mutual conciliatory spirit to prevent actual war.

When negotiations commenced, commissioners from the States of Maine and Massachusetts were invited to Washington, that they might be consulted on the subject. The treaty was soon concluded. The United States obtained the navigation of the river St. John's to its mouth, and the very important military position—Rouse's Point, at the outlet of Lake Champlain. In exchange for these were given a small territory of swamps, heath, and rocks, and barren mountains, covered with snow the greater part of the year. A territory valuable to Great Britain only because it enabled her to make a direct road from the province of New Brunswick to the St. Lawrence. Both nations were benefited by the arrangement, and the vexatious question of more than half a century's standing was amicably settled.

Another article provided for the mutual rendition of fugitives from justice; but only those who had committed acts which would be deemed criminal in the country where they had taken refuge. This important measure has given general satisfaction to both the contracting parties, and has served since as a model for similar treaties between some of the European powers. The two governments also agreed to maintain each a certain number of armed vessels on the coast of Africa to aid in suppressing the slave-trade.

After the treaty was concluded two important sub-

jects unexpectedly came up for discussion. One was the right assumed by British cruisers to visit, and if necessary search, merchant vessels belonging to other nations. In a letter to the American minister at London, and designed for the English secretary of Foreign Affairs, Webster denied the "right," and sustained his opinions against its exercise by arguments that have not yet been invalidated.

CHAP.
L.
1842.

The other subject was the impressment of seamen by British cruisers from American merchant vessels. In a letter to Lord Ashburton the Secretary of State assumed that it did not comport with the self-respect of the United States to enter into stipulations in relation to the right of impressment; as if for a moment the existence of such a right could be admitted. On the contrary, that the exercise of impressment should be deemed an aggression and repelled as such. In an able and conciliatory discussion he pointed out the inconsistency of such a right with the laws of nations. Yet in the happiest language expressed the desire that for the welfare of both countries, all occasions of irritation should be removed. He announced as the basis of the policy of the United States: "Every merchant-vessel on the high seas is rightfully considered as a part of the territory of the country to which it belongs;" that "in every regularly documented American merchant-vessel the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them," and that "the American Government, then, is prepared to say that the practice of impressing seamen from American vessels cannot hereafter be allowed to take place." In the same just and conciliatory spirit was the reply of Lord Ashburton.

An apology was impliedly given for the invasion of the territory of the United States in the "affair of the *Caroline*." The negotiators conferred informally upon the subject of the northern boundary of Oregon, but for

¹ The Works of Daniel Webster, vol. vi. p. 325.

CHAP. the present agreed to postpone its settlement. The treaty
 L. — of Washington marks an important era in our history:—
 1842. the time when the United States took that position
 among the nations, to which they were entitled by their
 power and influence. Four years after, Webster said on
 the floor of the Senate:—"I am willing to appeal to the
 public men of the age, whether, in 1842, and in the city
 of Washington, something was not done for the suppres-
 sion of crime, or the true exposition of public law, for the
 freedom and security of commerce on the ocean, and for
 the peace of the world?"

The government had not been forgetful of the ad-
 vancement of science. It sent out an exploring expedi-
 1838. tion, under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United
 States navy, accompanied by a corps of scientific men,
 to make discoveries in the Antarctic and Pacific oceans.
 After four years it returned bringing the results of inves-
 1842. tigations in Natural History, not valuable to our own
 country alone, but to the world. It sailed ninety thou-
 sand miles, seventeen hundred of which were along the
 coast of a great Antarctic Continent never seen before by
 civilized man.

The four years of this administration was a period
 fruitful in measures, destined, in their remote conse-
 quences, to have a varied and almost unlimited influence
 upon the nation. A more important question never
 came before the Houses of Congress, than when the young
 Republic of Texas presented herself at their doors, and
 asked to be annexed to the Union. She came offering a
 fertile territory almost sufficient in extent to make five
 such States as Pennsylvania or New York. The "an-
 nexation," led to the Mexican war, and that in turn to
 the acquisition of California.

The region known as Texas had been claimed, but on
 doubtful grounds, as a part of the already purchased ter-

ritory of Louisiana. This claim was, however, waived, and when Florida was obtained Texas was tacitly admitted to belong to Spain, and when Mexico revolted from the mother country, she became one of the confederated States which formed the Mexican republic.

The American who originated the plan of colonizing Texas, was Moses Austin, a native of Durham, Connecticut. He was engaged in working the lead mines in upper Louisiana, when, in his explorations, he became acquainted with the fertile soil and delightful climate of Texas. The Spanish Government encouraged immigration to that part of the Mexican territory, and it gave Austin large grants of land, on condition that he would introduce as colonists three hundred Catholic families from Louisiana. Within a month after these arrangements were completed, Austin himself died, but appointed his son Stephen F. Austin to superintend the planting of the colony according to the agreement with the Spanish government. To his energy and perseverance may be attributed the success of the enterprise.

Little was known at Mexico of what was in progress in that remote region. The Americans, attracted by the liberal grants of land and the fine climate, were pouring in. In a few years they numbered twenty thousand, very few of whom were Catholics, nor did they all come from Louisiana, but from the other Southern and Western States.

Meantime in Mexico other great changes were in progress. First came the revolution by which she declared herself no longer under the jurisdiction of Spain. This was succeeded by a confederation of States. In that unhappy country one revolution succeeded another in rapid succession, till finally, Santa Anna, overthrowing the existing republic, made himself dictator and tyrant of the people. During this time the Texans did not revolt, nor

CHAP.
L.
1842.

1813.

1830.

1821.

CHAP. did they acquiesce. They formed a constitution, and
L.
— sent Austin to Mexico to ask admission into the con-
1835. federacy of the republic as a State. This request was denied, and their messenger thrown into prison. Still Texas retained her State officers, and asked that her rights might be respected; when an armed Mexican vessel appeared off the coast, and proclaimed that her ports were blockaded; near the same time a Mexican army appeared on her western borders, with the intention of arresting her State officers, and disarming the inhabitants. It was much easier to demand the Texan rifles than to get them. The attempt was made at a place named Gonzales, where
Sept. the Mexicans met with a severe repulse. The Texans,
28. though few in number, flew to arms throughout the entire country, and in a few months drove the invaders from their soil, and captured and garrisoned the strong forts of the Goliad and the mission house of Alamo. Thus they manfully resisted the designs of Santa Anna to make them submit to his usurped authority, and the struggle commenced for their rights, their liberties and their lives.

There were no bonds of sympathy between the Texans and Mexicans: neither in religion nor in customs, nor in form of government. The Texan despised the Mexican, and the Mexican hated and feared the Texan.

1836. Six months after these reverses Santa Anna invaded Texas with a numerous army. The character of the war he intended to wage may be inferred from his cruel orders to shoot every prisoner taken. The Alamo was invested by Santa Anna himself. The garrison numbered only one hundred and eighty men, while their enemies were as sixteen to their one. When summoned to surrender, they, knowing the treacherous character of the Mexican Chief, refused. The latter immediately raised the blood-red flag, to indicate that he would give no quarter. After repulsing the besiegers several times, the Texans, worn out with watchings and labors, were overcome, and when calling
Mar. 8.

for quarter the survivors—only seven—were mercilessly
butchered.

CHAP.
L.

1836.

Here, surrounded by the bodies of Mexicans who had fallen by his hand, perished the eccentric Davy Crockett. Born on the frontiers of Tennessee, his only education was that received during two months in a common school. Though singular in his mental characteristics, his strong common sense and undaunted spirit, won him the respect of his fellow-citizens, and they sent him several times to represent them in Congress. When he heard of the struggle in which the people of Texas were engaged, he hastened to their aid, and with untiring energy devoted himself to their cause.

At Goliad the little garrison defended themselves with unexampled bravery; not until their resources failed, their ammunition exhausted, and famine was staring them in the face, did they accept the terms offered by the Mexican in command, and surrendered. Their lives were to be spared, and they aided to leave the country. Other small parties of Texans in different places had been surprised and taken prisoners. The following night a courier arrived from Santa Anna, bringing orders to put the prisoners to death the next morning.

They were marched in little companies outside the town, and there shot; those attempting to escape were cut down by the cavalry. The wounded prisoners were then murdered in the same cruel manner; among the wounded who thus suffered, was Colonel Fanning, their commander. Thus perished three hundred and thirty men, the last words of some of whom were cheers for the liberty of Texas.

A Texan physician, Dr. Grant, was among the prisoners, but his life was spared on condition that he would attend the wounded Mexican soldiers. He was also promised that he should have a passport to leave the country as soon as they needed his services no more. He

CHAP. faithfully performed his part, but when the soldiers were
L. cured, he was tied upon a wild horse, and told to take "his
1836. passport and start for home." The cords were cut, and
the frightened animal rushed to the woods, where, some
time after, the mangled body of the poor man was found.

Santa Anna, with an army of seven thousand men, moved on toward the San Jacinto river. General Samuel Houston had only seven hundred and fifty men, their only weapons rifles, pistols and bowie-knives; in their element when fighting, they were impatient to attack the enemy. The advance division, consisting of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Santa Anna himself, was the flower of the Mexican army. The Mexicans were well posted, and their front, before which was an open grassy space, was carefully fortified. Houston had great difficulty in restraining his men. At three o'clock in the afternoon, when Santa Anna and his officers were enjoying a sleep, and their men engaged in playing cards, Houston passed information along the line that the only bridge by which the enemy could escape was cut down, with the order to move rapidly to the attack. The surprise was complete. In twenty minutes their position was forced, and the panic stricken Mexicans leaving every thing, fled in confusion. More than six hundred were slain, and altogether more than eight hundred taken prisoners. The following day a Mexican was found skulking in the grass. He asked to be led to head-quarters. When brought to the Oak under which were the Texan head-quarters, he made himself known as Santa Anna. He complimented Houston on the renown he had acquired in "conquering the Napoleon of the West." Such was the battle of San Jacinto; the number engaged were comparatively few, yet it virtually ended the contest. Santa Anna, at the request of Houston, ordered the Mexican army to retire from the Territory of Texas. He also ac-

April
21.

knowledgeed the independence of Texas, but the Mexican Congress refused to ratify his act. CHAP. L.

A month previous to this battle, a convention of delegates met at a place named Washington, and declared themselves independent of Mexico. The convention then proceeded to form a Constitution, which in due time was adopted by the people. Six months later Houston was inaugurated President of the Republic of Texas; and its first Congress assembled.¹ 1836. April 21.

When its people threw off their allegiance to Mexico, they naturally turned to more congenial associations; they desired to annex themselves to the United States. Oct.

One of the last official acts of General Jackson had been to sign a bill recognizing their independence, and now the question of their annexation became the absorbing topic of political discussion in the United States, in every section of which many opposed the measure only on the ground that it would incur a war with Mexico, whose government still persisted in fruitless efforts to reduce the Texans to obedience. The interminable question of slavery, as usual, was involved in the controversy. The South was almost unanimously in favor of annexation. 1844. The genial climate, the fertile soil, and the varied productions of Texas, were so many pledges that slave labor would there be profitable. A strong party in the North was opposed to the measure, lest it should perpetuate that institution, while one in the South was devising plans to preserve the balance of power existing between the States in the Senate.

The subject of annexation, with its varied consequences, was warmly discussed in both Houses of Congress, in the newspapers, and in the assemblies of the people.

Calhoun gave his views by saying: "There were

¹ Yoakum's Hist. of Texas.

CHAP. powerful reasons why Texas should be a part of this
L. Union. The Southern States, owning a slave popula-
1844. tion, were deeply interested in preventing that country
from having power to annoy them." Said Webster:
"That while I hold to all the original arrangements and
compromises under which the Constitution under which
we now live was adopted, I never could, and never can,
persuade myself to be in favor of the admission of other
States into the Union, as slave States, with the inequali-
ties which were allowed and accorded by the Constitution
to the slaveholding States then in existence."

Under the auspices of Calhoun, who was now Secretary of State, a treaty was secretly made with Texas, by which she was to be admitted into the Union. But the Senate immediately rejected it by a vote more than two to one, on the ground that to carry out its provisions would involve the country in a war with Mexico. This rejection was the signal for raising a great clamor throughout the land. Annexation was made a prominent issue in the pending presidential election—the Democratic party in favor of the measure, and the Whigs opposed. To influence the credulous, it was boldly asserted that England was negotiating with Texas to buy her slaves, free them, and, having quieted Mexico, to take the republic under her special protection. This story General Houston said was a pure fabrication; yet it served a purpose. In certain portions of the South conventions were held, in which the sentiment "Texas, or Disunion," was openly advocated. The threats of secession and uniting with Texas, unless she was admitted to the Union, had but little effect, however, upon the great mass of the people.

The following year it was proposed to receive Texas by a joint resolution of Congress. The House of Representatives passed a bill to that effect, but the Senate added an amendment, appointing commissioners to nego-

tiate with Mexico on the subject. Thus manifesting a desire to respect the rights of Mexico as a nation with whom we were at peace, and at least make an effort to obtain the annexation with her consent, and also the settlement of boundaries.

By a clause in the resolutions the President was authorized to adopt either plan. The joint resolutions were passed on Saturday, the 2d of March; Tyler would leave office two days later. The President elect, James K. Polk, had intimated that if the question came before him he should adopt the Senate's plan, by which it was hoped an amicable arrangement could be made with Mexico.¹ The retiring President, and his Secretary of State, chose to adopt the mode of annexation proposed in the House resolutions. A messenger was sent on Sunday night the 3d, to carry the proposition with all speed to the Legislature of Texas.

The opposition to annexing slaveholding territory to the Union was so great that Texas came in by compromise. Provision was made that four additional States might be formed out of the Territory when it should become sufficiently populous. Those States lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude—the Missouri Compromise line—were to be free States; those south of the line, to “be admitted into the Union with or without slavery as the people of each State asking admission may desire.” To the original State, the right was accorded to prevent any State being formed out of her territory, by refusing her consent to the measure. Texas acceded to the proposition, and thus became one of the United States. Her population now amounted to two hundred thousand.

1845.
July
4.

For nearly two hundred years the people of Rhode Island had lived under the charter granted by Charles II. This instrument was remarkable for the liberal provisions

¹ Benton's 'Thirty Years' View, Chap. cxlviii. Vol. ii.

CHAP. it contained. The desire to change this charter gave rise
 L. to two parties, the "Suffrage," and "The Law and
 1845. Order;" each determined to secure to their own party
 the administration of affairs, and each elected State officers. Thomas W. Dorr, elected governor by the Suffrage party, tried to seize the State arsenal; the militia
 1843. were called out by the other party, and he was compelled
 May to flee. In a second attempt his party was overpowered
 18. by citizen soldiers, and he himself arrested, brought to trial, convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life; but some time afterward he was pardoned. A free constitution was in the mean time adopted by the people, under which they are now living.

Almost the last official act of President Tyler was to sign the bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union. "Two States which seem to have but few things in common to put them together—one the oldest, the other the newest territory—one in the extreme north-west of the Union, the other in the extreme south-east—one the land of evergreens and perpetual flowers, the other the climate of long and rigorous winter—one maintaining, the other repulsing slavery."

In addition to passing a tariff bill, under whose influence the industries of the country greatly revived, this progressive Congress conferred a lasting benefit on the
 1842. Nation by cheapening the postage on letters, then a burdensome tax on the social correspondence of the people and the business of the country. This measure was persistently opposed from session to session, especially by the members from that section that never paid its own postage. When the first bill passed, the letter which now costs two cents cost from two to ten times as much and even more, according to the distance carried. It took twenty-one years of gradual reduction to bring the rate of postage down to what it is to-day. This frequent and cheap intercourse by letters and newspapers is of immense value to a nation constituted as we are.

CHAPTER LI.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Presidential Canvass.—Difficulties with Mexico.—General Taylor at Corpus Christi.—Oregon Territory; respective Claims to.—Settlement of Boundary.—Taylor marches to the Rio Grande.—Thornton's Party surprised.—Attack on Fort Brown.—Battle of Palo Alto; of Resaca de la Palma.—Matamoras occupied.—Measures of Congress.—The Volunteers.—Plan of Operations.—Mexico declares War.—General Wool.—General Worth.—The Capture of Monterey.

ON the 4th of March, James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, CHAP. LI. was inaugurated President, and George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, Vice-President; James Buchanan was appointed Secretary of State. 1845.

The canvass had been one of unusual interest and spirit. The candidates of the Whig party were Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. The questions involved were the admission of Texas, and the settlement of the boundary line on the north-west, between the British possessions and Oregon. The latter—for the Whigs were also in favor of its settlement—thrown in by the successful party.

The result of the election was assumed to be the expression of the will of the people in relation to the admission of Texas, which measure, as we have seen, the expiring administration had already consummated. We have now to record the events, the consequences in part of that measure.

Though France and England, as well as the United

CHAP. I.
1845. States, acknowledged the independence of Texas, Mexico still claimed the territory, and threatened to maintain her claim by force of arms. In accordance with this sentiment, two days after the inauguration of the new President, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, formally protested against the "joint resolutions" of Congress, then demanded his passports and left the country.

There were other points of dispute between the two governments. American merchants residing in Mexico, complained that their property had been appropriated by that government; that their ships, trading along the shores of the Gulf, had been plundered, and they could obtain no redress. The United States government again and again remonstrated against these outrages. The Mexican government, poverty-stricken and distracted by broils, was almost in a state of anarchy; each party as it came into power repudiated the engagements made by its predecessor.

1831. A treaty had been signed by which redress for these grievances was promised; the promise was not fulfilled, and the aggressions continued. Nine years later the Mexican government again acknowledged the justness of these demands, which now amounted to six millions of dollars, and pledged itself to pay them in twenty instalments, of three hundred thousand dollars each. Three of these had been paid, when the annexation of Texas took place, and, in consequence of that event, Mexico refused further compliance with the treaty.

Even if Mexico gave her consent for the annexation of Texas, another question arose: What was the western boundary of that territory; the Nueces or the Rio Grande? Both parties claimed the region lying between these two rivers. The Legislature of Texas, alarmed at the warlike attitude assumed by Mexico, requested the United States government to protect their territory. Ac-

cordingly the President sent General Zachary Taylor, with fifteen hundred men, called the "Army of Occupation," "to take position in the country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory." General Taylor formed his camp at Corpus Christi, a small village at the mouth of the Nueces. There he remained till the following spring. Also a portion of the Home squadron, under Commodore Conner, was sent into the Gulf to co-operate with the army. Both "were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow."¹

CHAP.
LII.

1845.

Sept.

Though Mexico, in her weakness and distraction, had temporized and recently rejected an American minister, yet it was understood that she was now willing to receive one, and accordingly he had been sent. It was plain that upon the pending negotiations war or peace between the two republics depended. Meanwhile it was known that Mexico was marshalling her forces for a conflict.

The unsettled question in relation to the boundary of Oregon now engaged the attention of the President and his Secretary of State. Great Britain was from the first desirous to arrange the difficulty, though, as has been stated, the subject was passed over in the negotiations of the Washington treaty.

A few months after the ratification of that treaty, Mr. Henry S. Fox, the British minister at Washington, addressed a note to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under Mr. Tyler, in which note he proposed to take up the subject of the Oregon boundary. The proposal was accepted, but for some reason negotiations were not commenced. Two years later, Sir Richard Packenham, then British minister at Washington, renewed the proposition

1842.
Nov.

¹ President's Message, Dec. 1845.

CHAP. to Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State. It was accepted, but
 LI.
 ——— a few days after Upshur lost his life by the lamentable
 1844. explosion on board the Princeton. Six months later
 Feb. Packenham again brought the matter to the notice of
 Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of State. The proposition
 was promptly accepted, and the next day named for
 taking up the subject.

The claims of the respective parties may be briefly
 noticed. The region known as Oregon lay between the
 parallels of forty-two and fifty-four degrees and forty
 minutes north latitude, the Rocky Mountains on the
 1819. east, and the Pacific Ocean on the west. By the Florida
 Treaty, Spain had ceded to the United States all her terri-
 tory north of the parallel first mentioned; commencing at
 the sources of the Arkansas and thence to the Pacific, and
 Mexico, having thrown off the yoke of Spain, since con-
 1828. firmed by treaty the validity of the same boundary. The
 parallel of fifty-four degrees forty minutes was agreed
 upon by the United States, Great Britain and Russia as the
 1824, southern boundary of the possessions of the latter power.
 1825.

The American claim was based upon the cession of
 Spain, who was really the first discoverer; the discovery
 1792. of Captain Gray, already mentioned; the explorations of
 Lewis and Clarke, sent by the government of the United
 States; and the settlement established at the mouth of the
 1811. Columbia River, by John Jacob Astor of New York. Lewis
 1805, and Clarke, during Jefferson's administration, crossed the
 1806. Rocky Mountains, came upon the southern main branch
 of the Columbia, and explored that river to its mouth.

The British claim was also based on discovery, and
 1806. actual settlement founded by the North-West Company,
 on Fraser's River, and also another on the head-waters
 of the north branch of the Columbia.

1844. Calhoun came directly to the point, and proposed as
 the boundary the continuation of the forty-ninth degree

of north latitude to the Pacific. This line had already CHAP. LI. been agreed upon between the United States and Great Britain by the treaty made at London, as the boundary 1844. of their respective territories from the Lake of the Woods 1818. to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Packenham, unwilling to accept that line, proposed to follow the forty-ninth degree from the mountains—some three hundred miles—until it should strike the north branch of the Columbia river, and thence down that stream to the ocean. The American Secretary declined this, and as the British minister had no further instructions, the consideration of the subject was postponed.

Meantime the Presidential canvass was in progress, and “all of Oregon or none” became one of the watchwords of the Democratic party. So long as these sentiments were proclaimed by partisan leaders and newspapers, they were harmless; but when the new President in his inaugural address, asserted that our title to “Oregon Territory” “was clear and indisputable,” and moreover intimated that it was his intention to maintain it by arms, the question assumed a far different aspect.

The position thus officially taken, when the subject of the boundary was under negotiation, took the British Government by surprise, especially since hitherto each party had courteously recognized the other’s claim to a portion of the territory. Four months passed. Meantime the good feeling existing between the two governments was seriously disturbed; England did not again offer to negotiate. A mere partisan watchword was in danger of involving both nations in war. At length the President himself, directed the Secretary of State to reopen negotiations by offering as the boundary the forty-ninth parallel; but the proposition was not accepted by the British minister.

To prepare the way for further negotiation, the Presi-

CHAP. LI. dent then recommended that the joint occupation of the
 1844. territory should be abrogated, by giving the twelve months' notice, according to a provision in the treaties of 1818 and 1828. Congress voted to give the notice.

Sir Robert Peel expressed in Parliament his regret that the last offer of the American Secretary had not been accepted, and soon after the British minister, Packenham, communicated to the Secretary of State the information that his government would accept the parallel of forty-nine, as recently offered.

The case admitted of no delay. The President was anxious to relieve himself of the responsibility of acting on the proposition. On the suggestion of Senator Benton, of Missouri, he, following the example of Washington, consulted the Senate on the propriety of accepting this last proposition, pledging himself to be guided by their decision. That body decided to accept it, "and gave the President a faithful support against himself, against his cabinet, and against his peculiar friends."

Presently the treaty was sent into the Senate, when, after a spirited debate for two days, it was ratified.¹ By this treaty, the parallel of forty-nine degrees North latitude was agreed upon as the boundary to the middle of the channel between Vancouver's Island and the Continent, and thence southerly through the middle of the Straits of Fuca to the ocean:—also the navigation of the Columbia River, and its main northern branch, was left free to both parties.

1846. We left General Taylor at Corpus Christi, on the west
 Feb. bank of the Nueces. He now received orders from Washington, to move to the Rio Grande, and establish a fortified camp and fort on the bank opposite the town of Matamoros, as in the vicinity of that place Mexican troops were assembling in great numbers, with the intention, it

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. ii. Chaps. 156-7-8-9.

was said, of invading Texas. Leaving the main portion of his stores under a guard at Point Isabel, he marched to the Rio Grande, and, within cannon shot of Matamoras, established a camp and built a fort. These movements called forth from Mexico strong protests and threats of war.

When the dispute between the two Republics began, Herrera was President of Mexico. He was desirous of arranging the difficulties by negotiation; but the war spirit prevailed, and at a recent election the Mexican people chose for President, Paredes, an uncompromising enemy of peace. When he assumed office he sent a large force under General Ampudia, to whom he gave orders to drive the Americans beyond the Nueces. That officer soon after sent a communication to General Taylor, in which he warned him of his danger in thus provoking the anger of "the magnanimous Mexican nation," and demanded that he should "break up his camp and retire beyond the Nueces" within twenty-four hours. Taylor replied that he should maintain his position, and carry out the instructions of his government, which alone was responsible for his presence on the Rio Grande. He continued to strengthen his fortification, and to closely watch the movements of the Mexicans. Ampudia was at a loss how to act; both commanders were unwilling to light the flame of war.

Paredes, dissatisfied with Ampudia, sent General Arista to supersede him. The latter immediately ordered detachments of Mexican soldiers to occupy positions between Point Isabel and the American camp, thus cutting off communication with their stores.

General Taylor had sent Captain Thornton with a party of sixty dragoons to reconnoitre; the party was surprised, sixteen of their number killed, the remainder captured. Thornton alone escaped. Here was shed the first blood in the Mexican war.

CHAP.
LI.
1846.

April
24.

CHAP. A few days later, Captain Walker, the celebrated
LI.
1846. Texan ranger, who with a select company was engaged in keeping up the communication with Point Isabel, came into camp with information that a large force of Mexicans was threatening the latter place. Leaving Major Brown with three hundred men to defend the fort, Taylor hastened to the aid of Point Isabel, which place, after a march of twenty-one miles, he reached without opposition.

The Mexicans self-complacently attributed this movement to fear, and they immediately made preparations to attack the fort. Taylor had concerted with Major Brown that if the latter should be surrounded or hard pressed, he should, at certain intervals, fire heavy signal guns.

May 3. The Mexicans opened with a tremendous cannonade from a battery at Matamoras, while a large force took position in the rear of the fort, and began to throw up intrenchments. The little garrison defended themselves with great bravery, and not until Major Brown fell mortally wounded, did the next in command, Captain Hawkins, begin to fire the signal guns.

The cautious Taylor first put Point Isabel in a state of defence, and then set out with a provision train guarded by two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight men to relieve Fort Brown—thus afterwards named in honor of its commander. The little army was truly in peril; an overwhelming force of the enemy—three to its one—had taken a strong position to intercept its march. The booming of signal guns still continued, and Taylor ardently pressed on with the determination to cut his way through. Presently he came in sight of the enemy, posted in front of a chaparral—in which were their reserves—near a small stream, the Palo Alto. The train was immediately closed up, and the soldiers refreshed themselves from the stream, and filled their canteens. As soon as the exact position of the Mexicans was ascertained, the American line was formed, Major Ringgold's battery was

placed on the right, and Duncan's on the left, while the eighteen-pounders were in the centre on the main road. The Mexicans commenced the action with their artillery, but at too great distance to reach the American line. The latter moved slowly and silently up till within suitable range, then the artillery opened, and displayed great skill in the rapidity as well as in the accuracy with which each gun was handled. The eighteen-pounders riddled the Mexican centre through and through, while Duncan scarcely noticed their artillery, but poured an incessant stream of balls upon their infantry. Presently the long grass in front was set on fire, by the wadding from the guns, and the smoke obscured the position of the Mexicans. The American batteries groped their way for three-fourths of an hour through the burning grass, and when the smoke cleared away, they found themselves within range of the enemy; in another moment they opened their guns with renewed vigor. At this crisis night came on; the contest had continued for five hours, and was a conflict of artillery alone. The only instance when an effort was made to change the form of the battle, was when the Mexican cavalry endeavored to turn the American flank; but the infantry, with bayonets fixed stood firm and awaited the shock; as the cavalry hesitated to make the onset, a discharge from the American artillery decided them to wheel and rapidly leave the field.

Such was the first battle in the Mexican war; a prelude of those which were to follow. The enemy lost four hundred men, while the Americans had only nine killed and forty-four wounded; but among the former was Major Ringgold, universally lamented, both as an efficient officer and a Christian gentleman. As his officers offered him assistance, he said: "Leave me alone, you are wanted forward." To him was due much of the credit for that perfection of drill and rapidity of movement which the American Flying Artillery exhibited on battle-fields

CHAP.
LI.
1846.

CHAP. during this war. The Mexicans manifested here no want
LI. of courage; they stood for four or five hours under these
1846. murderous discharges of grape.

The Americans encamped on the spot, and at three o'clock the next morning were on their march toward Fort Brown. Meantime the Mexicans, leaving their dead unburied, had disappeared; but on the afternoon of that day they were discovered posted in a strong position beyond a ravine, known as the Dry River of Palms or Resaca de la Palma. They had been reinforced during the night, and now numbered seven thousand men. Their right and left were protected by dense brush and chaparral, while their artillery, placed behind a breastwork and beyond the ravine, swept the road for some distance.

May 9. General Taylor placed his artillery on the road in the centre, and ordered divisions on the right and left to grope their way through the chaparral and ferret out with the bayonet the Mexican sharpshooters, who were swarming in the brush which protected them.

No order could be observed; the officers became separated from the men; each soldier acted for himself, as he broke his way through the chaparral and probed for the Mexicans. The sharp twang of the rifle, the dull sound of the musket, the deep mutterings of the cannon, the shrill cries of the Mexicans, so in contrast with the vigorous shouts of the Americans, produced a tremendous uproar. The right and left had gradually forced their way through the chaparral almost to the ravine, but the Mexican battery, handled with great coolness and execution, still swept the road at every discharge, and held the centre in check. That battery, the key of the Mexican position, must be taken. General Taylor turned to Captain May, of the dragoons, and pointing to the battery, said: "You must take it." The captain wheeled his horse and shouted to his troops, "Men, we must take that

battery!" Just then Lieutenant Ridgely suggested to ^{CHAP.} May to wait until he would draw the Mexican fire. The ^{LI.} moment a portion of their guns were fired, the bugle was

1846. heard high above the din, to sound a charge. The attention of the combatants was arrested, all eyes were turned toward the road, along which dashed the horsemen, led by their gallant leader. A cloud of dust soon hid them from view; a discharge of the Mexican guns swept away one-third of their number, but in a moment more, the clashing sabres and the trampling of men under the horses' feet, proclaimed that the battery was taken. The Mexican cannoneers were paralyzed at the sudden appearance of the approaching foe, and before they could recover, the dragoons were upon them. May, with his own hands, captured General La Vega, the commander, who was in the act of applying a match to a gun. The dragoons then charged directly through the Mexican centre.

A shout of triumph arose from the American lines, the infantry pressed on and took possession of the guns, from which the dragoons had driven the men. The entire Mexican force, panic-stricken at the sudden onset, broke and fled in confusion to the nearest point of the Rio Grande; in their haste to pass over which, numbers of them were drowned.

It was a complete victory. General Arista fled, and without a companion, leaving his private papers, as well as his public correspondence. All the Mexican artillery, two thousand stand of arms, and six hundred mules, fell into the hands of the Americans. The latter lost one hundred and twenty-two, and the Mexicans twelve hundred.

We may well imagine the emotions with which the little garrison, exhausted by the exertions of six days' incessant bombardment, listened to the sound of the battle, as it drew nearer and nearer; first was heard the cannon, then the musketry; then the smoke could be seen floating

CHAP. above the distant trees; now Mexicans here and there
LI.
1846. appeared in full flight; presently the victorious American cavalry came in sight, and the men mounted the ramparts and shouted a welcome.

May 18. General Taylor advanced to Fort Brown, then in a few days crossed the Rio Grande, and took possession of Matamoras. The Mexicans had withdrawn the previous evening and were in full march toward Monterey. The American commander took pains not to change or interfere with the municipal laws of the town; the people enjoyed their civil and religious privileges. They were paid good prices for provisions, which they furnished in abundance; yet there was evidently in their hearts a deep-toned feeling of hatred toward the invaders.

Meanwhile intelligence of the capture of Captain Thornton's reconnoitring party had reached the United States, and the rumor that Mexican soldiers, in overpowering numbers, were between the Nueces and the Rio Grande.

May 11. The President immediately sent a special message to Congress, in which he announced that "war existed by the act of Mexico;" but surely it was an "act" of self-defence on the part of the Mexicans, and made so by the advance of an American army upon disputed soil that had been in their possession and that of their fathers' fathers.

The President called upon Congress to recognize the war, to appropriate the necessary funds to carry it on, and to authorize him to call upon the country for volunteers. Congress, anxious to rescue the army from danger, appropriated ten millions of dollars, and empowered the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers; one-half of whom to be mustered into the army, and the other half kept as a reserve. War was not formally declared, yet the war spirit aroused was unprecedented. Throughout the land public meetings were held,

and in a few weeks two hundred thousand volunteers had offered their services to rescue the gallant little army from its perils, and, if necessary, to prosecute the war. Notwithstanding these warlike indications, great diversity of opinion prevailed among the people, both as to the justness of the war, or the expediency of appealing to that terrible arbiter, when all the results demanded might be obtained by negotiation.

CHAP.
LI.
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1846.

On the suggestions of Major-General Scott, a plan of operations, remarkably comprehensive in its outlines, was resolved upon by the government. A powerful fleet was to sail round Cape Horn, and to attack the Mexican ports on the Pacific coast in concert with a force, styled the "Army of the West," which was to assemble at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri, then to cross the great plains and the Rocky Mountains, and in its progress reduce the northern provinces of Mexico. Another force, "The Army of the Centre," was to penetrate to the heart of the Republic by way of Texas, and if deemed best, co-operate with the force under Taylor, known, as we have said, as the "Army of Occupation." The latter part of the plan was afterward modified, and the country was penetrated by way of Vera Cruz.

The apprehensions of the people for the safety of their little army, gave way to a feeling of exultation, when the news reached them that it had met and repelled its numerous assailants. The war spirit was not diminished but rather increased by this success. Congress manifested its gratification by conferring upon Taylor the commission of Major-General by brevet.

30.

On the other hand the Mexican people and government were aroused, and on the intelligence of these disasters, war was formally declared against the United States, and the government commenced to prepare for the contest.

May
23.

CHAP.
LI.

1846.

General John E. Wool, a native of New York, who had seen service in the war of 1812, and distinguished himself at Queenstown Heights, was commissioned to drill the volunteers. By the most untiring diligence he had, in the short space of six weeks, inspected and taken into the service twelve thousand men, nine thousand of whom were hurried off to reinforce General Taylor, while the remainder marched under his own command to San Antonio, in Texas, there to be in readiness to act according to circumstances.

Aug.
20.Sept.
9.

General Taylor remained three months at Matamoras, his operations restricted for want of men, but as soon as reinforcements reached him, he prepared to advance into the country, in accordance with orders received from Washington. He sent in advance General William J. Worth, with the first division toward Monterey, the capital city of New Leon. Worth took his first lessons in warfare in 1812. From love of military life, when a mere youth he enlisted as a common soldier, but his ready talents attracted the attention of Colonel, now General Scott, and from that day his promotion began. A fortnight later, leaving General Twiggs in command at Matamoras, Taylor himself moved with the main division,—more than six thousand men,—and the entire army encamped within three miles of the doomed city.

Monterey was an old city built by the Spaniards nearly three centuries ago. In a fertile valley, hedged in by high mountains, it could be approached only in two directions; from the north-east toward Matamoras, and from the west by a road, which passed through a rocky gorge, toward Saltillo. The city, nearly two miles in length by one in breadth, had three large plazas or squares; the houses, built in the old Spanish style, were one story high, with strong walls of masonry rising three or four

feet above their flat roofs. The city itself was fortified by massive walls, and on its ramparts were forty-two pieces of heavy artillery, while from the mountain tops, north of the town, the Americans could see that the flat roofs of the stone houses were converted into places of defence, and bristled with musketry, and that the streets were rendered impassable by numerous barricades. On the one side, on a hill, stood the Bishop's Palace, a massive stone building, strongly fortified, on the other were redoubts well manned, in the rear was the river San Juan, south of which towered abrupt mountains. Such was the appearance and strength of Monterey, garrisoned as it was by ten thousand troops, nearly all regulars, under the command of General Ampudia. It was now to be assailed by an army of less than seven thousand men.

CHAP.
LI.
1846.

Ten days elapsed before the vicinity of the town could be thoroughly reconnoitred. In the afternoon, General Worth was ordered, with six hundred and fifty men, to find his way around the hill occupied by the Bishop's Palace, gain the Saltillo road, and carry the works in that direction, while a diversion would be made against the centre and left of the town, by batteries erected during the night. The impetuous Worth, by great exertions, accomplished his purpose, by opening a new road over the mountains. In one instance he came to a small stream in a deep gully, the bridge over which had been broken down. A neighboring field furnished the material; his men soon filled the chasm, and passed over on a cornstalk-bridge.

Sept.
19.

The next morning the batteries erected the night before opened upon the enemy, who replied with a hearty good will. At length, after hard fighting, one of the Mexican works of great strength, situated in the lower part of the town, was captured. The brigade under General Quitman, of the Mississippi Volunteers, "carried the work

Sept.
20.

CHAP. LI. in handsome style, as well as the strong building in its rear." General Butler had also entered the town on the right; both of these positions were maintained.

1846.

While these operations were in progress, General Worth succeeded in gaining the Saltillo road, and thus cut off the enemy's communication with the west. He carried, in succession, the heights south of the river and road, and immediately turned the guns upon the Bishop's Palace.

Sept.
23.

During the night, the Mexicans evacuated their works in the lower town; but the next day they kept up a vigorous fire from the Citadel. The following morning at dawn of day, in the midst of a fog and drizzling rain, Worth stormed the crest overlooking the Bishop's Palace, and at noon, the Palace itself fell into the hands of the Americans. Yet the city, with its fortified houses, was far from being taken. "Our troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in the rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the enemy's force was mostly concentrated."¹ The Americans obtained the plaza, then forced the houses on either side, and, by means of crowbars, tore down the walls, ascended to the roofs, then drew up one or two field-pieces, and drove the enemy from point to point till the city capitulated.

The carnage was terrible. The shouts of the combatants, mingled with the wail of suffering women and children, presented a scene so heart-rending that even the demon of war might be supposed to turn from it in horror.

The Mexicans had effectually barricaded their streets, but these were almost undisturbed, while the invaders burrowed from house to house. The conflict continued for almost four days, in which the Mexicans fought desperately from behind their barricades on the house-

¹ Gen. Taylor's Report.

tops, where they did not hesitate to meet the invaders of their hearthstones hand to hand.

CHAF
LI.

The following morning Ampudia surrendered the town and garrison. The Mexican soldiers were permitted to march out with the honors of war.

1846.
Sept.
24.

General Taylor was assured that those in authority at the city of Mexico were desirous of peace. In consequence of these representations, and also of his want of provisions, he agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if his government should sanction the measure.

He now left General Worth in command of the city, and retired with the main force of the army to Walnut Springs, about three miles distant, and there encamped.

CHAPTER LII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The President hopes for Peace.—Santa Anna.—Hostilities to be renewed.—Troops withdrawn from General Taylor.—Letter from General Scott.—Volunteers arrive at Monterey.—Despatches intercepted.—Santa Anna's Plans and Preparations.—Taylor advances to Agua Nueva.—Battle of Buena Vista.—Its Consequences.

CHAP. LII. THOSE in power at Washington had hoped, indeed, it was
confidently predicted, that the war would be ended within
1846. "ninety" or "one hundred and twenty days" from its commencement, and a peace concluded, that "should give indemnity for the past and security for the future." These desirable ends were to be attained by treaty, through the means of that incomparable patriot, Santa Anna, then an exile in Havana, who promised, for a certain consideration, if restored to authority in Mexico, to exert his influence in favor of peace. A secret messenger from Washington had made to the "illustrious exile" overtures to this effect, about the time that General Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande; the special act which led to hostilities.¹

Dec. In his next annual message the President gives some information on this subject. "Santa Anna," said that document, "had expressed his regret that he had subverted the Federal Constitution of his country," and

¹ Benton's "Thirty Years' View," Vol. ii. pp. 561 and 681-2.

“that he was now in favor of its restoration.” He was also opposed to a monarchy, or “European interference in the affairs of his country.” The President cherished the hope that the exiled chief would “see the ruinous consequences to Mexico of a war with the United States, and that it would be his interest to favor peace;” and further the Message said, that Paredes, then President of Mexico, was “a soldier by profession, and a monarchist in principle;” the sworn enemy of the United States, and urgent to prosecute the war. Santa Anna, on the contrary, was in favor of peace, and only wanted a few millions of dollars to bring about that object so dear to his patriotism; hence the hopes that the war would be brought to a close in three or four months. It was with this expectation that the President, in a special message, asked of Congress an appropriation of two millions of dollars “in order to restore peace, and to advance a portion of the consideration money, for any cession of territory” which Mexico might make. It was also in accordance with this arrangement, that, on the very day Congress, at his suggestion, recognized the “existence of the war,” he issued an order to Commodore Connor, who was in command of the fleet in the Gulf, to permit Santa Anna and his suite to return to Mexico. The latter availed himself of this passport to land at Vera Cruz.

CHAP.
LII.
1846.

Aug.
4.

May
13.

Aug.
8.

President Polk had been duped. Santa Anna never intended to fulfil his promise, except so far as to forward his own selfish ends. Instead of endeavoring to conciliate the hostile countries and obtain peace, he devoted all his energies to arouse the war spirit of his countrymen; called upon them to rally under his banner and save their nationality; issued flaming manifestos expressing the most intense hatred of the people of the United States. and his righteous indignation at the wrongs imposed on his country by the “perfidious Yankees.”

CHAP.
LII.

1846.

Dec.

His extravagant professions of patriotism were not without effect; his countrymen deposed Paredes, and elected him President. Though they had been unfortunate in the field, their spirits revived, and in a few months he had an army of twenty thousand men concentrated at San Luis Potosi.

Sept.

Meanwhile General Wool had marched from San Antonio. His indefatigable labors had converted the volunteers under his care into well-drilled soldiers. Part of their way was through a region but thinly inhabited and without roads, and across a desert in which they suffered much for water. A laborious march of six weeks brought him to Monclova, seventy miles from Monterey—here he learned of the capture of the latter place. It was now arranged that he should take position in a fertile district in the province of Durango, that would enable him to obtain supplies for his own men, and the army under General Taylor. The inhabitants cheerfully furnished provisions, for which they were paid promptly, and in truth received more favor than they had recently experienced at the hands of their own rulers, as General Wool kept his men under strict discipline and scrupulously protected the persons and property of the Mexicans.

Nov.
15.

The cessation of hostilities, by orders from Washington, ceased on the 13th of November. Two days later General Worth took possession of Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and General Taylor himself, leaving a garrison in Monterey under General Butler, marched toward the coast in order to attack Tampico, but as that place had already surrendered to Commodore Connor, he took possession of Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas.

Dec.
29.

The United States government now prepared to invade Mexico by way of Vera Cruz. Just as General Taylor was ready to commence active operations, General Scott was about to sail for that place with the

intention of capturing it, and then, if peace could not be obtained, to march upon the city of Mexico itself. CHAP.
LII.

To carry out the plan of operations, it was necessary to increase the force under General Scott's immediate control. Troops in sufficient numbers could not be drawn from the United States, and a portion of Taylor's army was ordered to join him before Vera Cruz. He thus in a private letter expresses his generous sympathies with the latter: "My dear General," says he, "I shall be obliged to take from you most of the gallant officers and men whom you have so long and so nobly commanded. I am afraid that I shall, by imperious necessity—the approach of the yellow fever on the Gulf coast—reduce you, for a time, to remain on the defensive. This will be infinitely painful to you, and, for that reason, distressing to me. But I rely upon your patriotism to submit to the temporary sacrifice with cheerfulness. No man can better afford to do so. Recent victories place you on that high eminence." 1846.

General Taylor, though deeply disappointed, at once complied with the orders of the government, and detached Generals Worth and Quitman with their divisions and the greater part of the volunteers brought by General Wool: in truth, the flower of his army. These troops were speedily on their march from Saltillo toward the Gulf coast. Thus Taylor was left with a very small force. During the month of January, and a part of February, reinforcements of volunteers arrived from the United States, increasing his army to about six thousand; but after garrisoning Monterey and Saltillo, he had only four thousand seven hundred effective men, of whom only six hundred were regulars. 1847.

General Scott sent Lieutenant Richey and a guard of men with a despatch to General Taylor. The Lieutenant imprudently left his men, went near a Mexican village, was lassoed, dragged from his horse and murdered,

CHAP. and his despatches sent to Santa Anna. From these the
LII. Mexican chief learned the plan for invading his country.

1847. He promptly decided upon his course of action—a judicious one. Trusting that the strength of Vera Cruz, and of the Castle San Juan d’Ulloa, would long resist the enemy, and even if they both should be captured, that the fortified places along the road would still retard the advance of the Americans upon the capital, he determined to direct all his force against Taylor, who was now weakened by the loss of the greater part of his army.

Santa Anna’s difficulties were almost insurmountable. The city of Mexico was in confusion, torn by factions. He took most extraordinary and illegal measures to enlist men and obtain the means for their support; raised money by forced loans; made the church property contribute its share of the public expense; the Priests protested and appealed to the superstitions of the people; he immediately seized one of their number, the most factious, and threw him into prison, and the rest were intimidated. Thus, for nearly four months, he exercised an arbitrary, energetic, and iron rule. With a well-organized army of twenty-three thousand men, and twenty pieces of artillery, he commenced his march for San Luis Potosi in the direction of Saltillo, and within sixty miles south of that place he halted and prepared for battle.

Jan.
26.

Rumors reached General Wool that Santa Anna was approaching Saltillo. Major Borland was sent with thirty dragoons to reconnoitre; he was joined on his way by Major Gaines and Captain Cassius M. Clay, with another company of thirty-five men. No enemy appeared, and they pushed on during the day, and carelessly encamped for the night, but, in the morning, found themselves surrounded by one thousand horsemen under the Mexican General Minon. They were taken prisoners, and Santa Anna sent them, as the first fruits of the campaign, to be paraded through the streets of the city of Mexico.

General Taylor now advanced from Monterey, and established his head-quarters at Saltillo. Leaving there his stores, he made a rapid march to Agua Nueva, eighteen miles in advance, on the road to San Luis Potosi, thus to secure the southern extremity of the defile through the Sierra Nevada, rather than the northern one at Monterey. At the former point the Mexicans must fight or starve, because of the barrenness of the country in their rear; while, had he remained at Monterey, Santa Anna could have had his head-quarters at Saltillo, and drawn his supplies from that comparatively fertile district.

CHAP.
LII.
1847.
Feb.
4.

Scouts reported that General Minon with a large body of cavalry was to the left of Agua Nueva, and that the American position could be turned. Companies of dragoons from time to time were sent in different directions to reconnoitre. They at length learned from a "Mexican, dressed as a peon," that Santa Anna had arrived in the neighborhood with twenty thousand men, and that he intended to attack the Americans the next morning.

The clouds of dust toward the east, and the signal fires that blazed upon the tops of the distant hills, seemed to confirm the report. But that daring Texan ranger, Major McCulloch, was not satisfied; and, accompanied by some dozen volunteers, he determined to ascertain the truth of the "peon's" story. They pushed on across a desert of thirty-six miles to Encarnacion, where they arrived at midnight, and found the enemy in force. Sending back all his men, save one, McCulloch entered their lines, and, undetected, went from point to point, obtained more correct information of their numbers, then passed out, and escaped to Agua Nueva.

On the reception of this intelligence, Taylor, leaving a small guard as an outpost, retired up the valley in expectation that Santa Anna in hot haste would pursue him, while he himself should await his approach at a point, which, in passing, he had already noticed. The conjecture was correct.

CHAP.
LII.

1847.

Santa Anna knew well the position of the Americans. He thought they would not retreat, and he resolved to surprise them. But between him and Agua Nueva there intervened fifty miles, the last thirty-six of which were across a desert. His soldiers were each supplied with water and provisions; in the morning the march commenced, and at noon they entered the desert; in the night they halted for a while to refresh, and at dawn they were to attack the unsuspecting foe. The march was rapid and secret; the silence of the desert was not disturbed—not a signal was used, not a drum beat. After so much toil he was sadly disappointed; his enemy had disappeared. He firmly believed the Americans were in full flight, in order to avoid a battle. Some days before he had sent General Minon with his cavalry across the mountains, to their rear, and he now hoped that Minon would be able to hold the fugitives in check until he himself could come up with his full force. He halted only to refresh his wearied soldiers, and then pursued with all his vigor.

The ground chosen by General Taylor on which to make a stand, was the pass—since so famous—known among the Mexicans as Las Angosturas, or the Narrows. It was at the north end of a valley, about twelve miles long, and formed by mountains on either side. Here an ascent rises to a plateau, a little more than a mile wide, on each side of which rugged mountains, inaccessible to artillery or cavalry, rise from two to three thousand feet. Numerous ravines or deep gullies, formed by the torrents rushing from the mountains during the rainy season, rendered the surface in front and on the sides very uneven. Neither flank could be turned except by light troops clambering up the mountains. The plateau was somewhat rough, with here and there open and smooth places, as well as clumps of thorny chaparral. The road through

the defile passes much nearer to the west than to the east side of the Narrows. On this plateau, one mile south of the hacienda or plantation known as Buena Vista, the American army awaited the approach of the Mexicans. CHAP.
LII.
1847.

Early the following morning clouds of dust, extending far down the valley to the south, made known that the Mexican army was near and in motion. Soon after, its cavalry came in sight and halted for the infantry and artillery to come up.

The long roll of the drum called the Americans to arms; they obeyed the call with hearty cheers. It was the anniversary of the birth of Washington, and on the impulse his name was adopted as their watchword. They were placed under peculiar circumstances. A few months before, they were quietly engaged in the avocations of civil life; enthusiasm had induced them to volunteer, and now they were on foreign soil, far from their homes. With the exception of a few hundreds, they were all for the first time going into battle, with the prospect that to them defeat would be certain ruin; they were about to meet an army, in its numbers nearly five to one of their own. In the unequal contest, their only hope was in their own bravery, and in the skill of their commander.

Feb.
22.

The cautious Taylor had gone to Saltillo, six miles distant, to superintend in person the defences designed to secure the stores from capture. General Wool was left in temporary command at the Narrows, and he directed the arrangements of the troops.

Captain Washington's battery was placed to command the road or pass, the key to the position of the army. Colonel Hardin's First Illinois regiment was on a ridge to the left of the pass, and Colonel McKee's Second Kentucky on another ridge in their rear. To the left beyond these was posted the Second Illinois, under Colonel Bissell, while still further in the same direction, under the mountain, were stationed Colonels Yell and Humphrey

CHAP. Marshall, with the Arkansas and Kentucky volunteers.
LII.
1847. The remainder of the army, including Lane's Indiana brigade; the Mississippi riflemen, Colonel Jefferson Davis; two squadrons of dragoons, and Sherman and Bragg's batteries of flying artillery, were placed in reserve on the rear of the plateau.

During the morning, and beyond the range of the American artillery, the main body of the Mexicans was also arranged in order of battle. Their right, a battery of sixteen-pounders, rested on the base of the mountains. These guns were manned by the San Patricio regiment, composed of Irish and German deserters from the American army. Two divisions, Pacheco's and Lombardini's, extended in the rear of this battery; guns, twelve and eight-pounders, were posted to the left, and a battalion occupied a hill in advance of the main line, directly opposite the pass. Their cavalry was stationed in the rear of either flank, and to be unencumbered, the baggage of the whole army was left many miles in the rear.

About noon a Mexican officer brought a note to General Taylor. In pompous terms Santa Anna summoned him to surrender at discretion, and trust himself to be treated "with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character." In a brief and courteous note the American commander declined the proposal.

Santa Anna noticed that the mountains to the east, beyond the American left, were unguarded, and he sent General Ampudia, with light troops, around a spur to ascend them from the south side. The movement was observed, and Colonel Marshall dismounted his own riflemen and those of the Indiana battalion, and commenced to ascend to the crest of the ridge. As the lines gradually approached each other, skirmishing began. The Mexicans kept up a continuous roar of musketry, while the Ameri-

cans lay among the rocks, whence could be heard the sharp crack of their rifles.

CHAP.
LII.

The Mexican batteries occasionally threw a shot, but the Americans on the plateau remained silent; they wished a closer conflict. They were not idle, however, but threw up temporary works to protect Washington's battery in front, and also to the right of the pass close up to the base of the mountain. Thus passed the afternoon, with only severe skirmishing on the mountain sides. When night came on the Americans were recalled to the plain. The Mexicans remained in position, and the night passed without any important demonstration on either side.

1847.

General Minon had passed through the defile, Palomas Adentro, and in the afternoon appeared with his numerous cavalry upon the plains north of Saltillo. Here Santa Anna sent him orders to remain, and be in readiness to fall upon the American forces, which he promised to either capture or put to flight the next morning.

The appearance of Minon caused no little anxiety, and General Taylor, after night-fall, hastened to Saltillo with aid, to assure himself that any attack upon the stores would be repelled.

During the night Ampudia was reinforced; and at dawn he renewed the attack, and stretched his line farther to the right; but Colonel Marshall, with a portion of the Illinois volunteers, maintained his position, though pressed by superior numbers.

Feb.
23.

Soon after sunrise, movements in the Mexican ranks indicated that a grand attack was in contemplation. Their strength was nearly all thrown toward the American left, where, owing to the smallness of their number and the extent of the ground, the troops were placed at greater intervals. The San Patricio battery was also brought forward and placed on the ridge in front of the

CHAP. plateau, while three powerful columns of attack were
LII. arranged—columns composed of the best soldiers of the
1847. army, and led by its most experienced leaders. As the
foremost column advanced, General Lane ordered Captain
O'Brien to hold them in check with his guns, and the
Second Indiana regiment to support him. O'Brien's shot
ploughed through their ranks from front to rear, yet the
Mexicans crowded on till the head of the column was
literally broken, and thrown into confusion, and refused
to advance. Lane now ordered O'Brien to move forward
fifty yards nearer the enemy. The Indiana regiment fol-
lowed, but came within range of a Mexican battery, which
opened upon their flank. They were ordered to retreat
from the face of such overpowering numbers; the retreat
unfortunately soon became a flight, which extended quite
beyond the enemy's guns. Now upon O'Brien's artillery
was concentrated the entire fire of the Mexican battery
and Pacheco's column. His horses were soon disabled;
not a man of his company but was either killed or
wounded; he was forced to fall back and leave to the
enemy one of his guns as a trophy—a trophy which they
seemed to appreciate very highly.

These forces now advanced and formed a juncture
with the division of Lombardini; the entire body then
moved against the plateau, and opened a heavy fire upon
the Second Illinois regiment under Colonel Bissell. Four
companies of Arkansas volunteers had been directed to
dismount and gain the plateau. They reached it in the
midst of this conflict, but they soon became panic-stricken
and fled. The Illinoisians, now unsupported, slowly fell
back. While this was in progress, a portion of the Ken-
tuckians were forced back, and Ampudia, with his light
troops, came down the mountain and completely turned
the American left. The third heavy column, under Mora
y Villamil, pressed on against Washington's battery on the
road. He waited till they came within close range, then

poured in his shot with surprising rapidity and terrible effect; the head of the column melted away before the storm, the whole mass was thrown into confusion, swayed from side to side, then broke and fled, leaving the plain covered with a multitude of slain and wounded.

CHAP.
LII.
1847.

Just as the three columns of the enemy had failed to force the American centre on the plateau, General Taylor, accompanied by fresh troops, arrived upon the field; his presence was needed. He brought with him every available man that could be spared from Saltillo. They were Colonel May's dragoons, a portion of the Mississippi riflemen, and of the Arkansas cavalry.

The natural advantages of the position had been lost; success depended alone upon the bravery of the troops; many of the officers had fallen, and whole companies of the volunteers, both infantry and horse, had left the field, and were in disastrous retreat toward Buena Vista, in spite of the efforts of General Wood and Colonel Davis, and other officers to restrain them.

The Mexican infantry, supported by their fine cavalry, right and left, which made shock after shock, continued to press on. By great exertions Davis rallied the majority of his regiment, and a part of the Second Indiana; they advanced at a quick step, but silent until within rifle shot; then gave the approaching foe a destructive fire. The Mexicans did not slacken their pace till they came almost to the edge of the last ravine between them and their enemy, when they halted. The Americans came up to the opposite edge; thus for a while the two forces confronted each other and fired across the ravine. Presently a shout along the American line rose high and clear above the din; they delivered their fire, dashed into the ravine, lingered a moment to reload, then rose upon the opposite crest, in the face of the enemy, and with defiant shouts urged home their fire more fearfully than ever. The

CHAP. Mexicans, apparently astounded at the apparition which
LII. was sending death through their ranks, wavered for a few
— minutes, and then in utter confusion rolled back upon
1847. the column which was advancing to their support.

Scarcely was Colonel Davis free from this when he was assailed by a force coming in another direction. A thousand lancers who had not been engaged approached along the broad ridge; they were well supported by infantry. To meet this new enemy, Davis was aided by the Second and Third Indiana regiments. He extended his line across the ridge, stationed Captain Sherman on his left, and placed his men in the form of the letter V, the opening toward the approaching lancers. They commenced to advance at a gallop as if to charge their way through the centre. But as they drew near they gradually slackened their pace; they expected the Americans would fire, and then they would ride them down before they could reload their pieces. The latter fired not a gun, but awaited their approach. At length the lancers came to a walk at the opening of the angle. The silence seemed to fill them with awe; they were within eighty yards of a thousand marksmen, every one of whom could take deliberate aim. At the word, every musket and rifle was poised—a moment intervened—then went forth the messengers of death. The entire front ranks of the lancers were riddled, not a ball appeared to have failed of its errand. This was followed by grape and canister from Sherman's battery. The dead and wounded men and horses made a barricade of struggling life, over which they could not pass. Even at this time, their overpowering numbers, had it not been for this obstruction, might have enabled them to break through the line and gain the road in the rear of the plateau, and thus have modified or changed the fortune of the day. But those in the rear were appalled at the destruction of their companions, and the whole mass fled headlong from the field. As in every

other instance the Americans, for want of numbers and cavalry, could not pursue them, and the fugitives passed south of the plateau to be re-formed for another attack. CHAP.
LII.
1847.

Meantime a squadron of cavalry under Torrejon skirted the mountain base to the left, and penetrated to Buena Vista, whither the commands of Marshall and Yell had retired. General Taylor sent all the cavalry he could spare, under Colonel May, to reinforce that point. Torrejon fell back on his approach, and May returned to the plateau. Then Torrejon advanced again: this time the volunteers received him with a scattering fire; but the Mexicans, confident in numbers, rode on rapidly toward the hacienda; there they were held in check by a portion of the two battalions. It was here that Colonel Yell, as he made a charge, was killed at the head of his men. Torrejon himself was wounded, and Colonel May made his appearance again, this time with two field-pieces, and the Mexicans separated into two divisions and retreated out of danger.

On the plateau the battle had raged in one continuous cannonade: the Mexicans had on the ridge in front, a battery of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, principally manned by the San Patricio regiment, yet they could not silence the American guns. At this point there was a temporary lull in the storm.

But on the east side of the valley, to the rear of the plateau, a severe conflict was in progress. One of the Mexican divisions retreating from Buena Vista, had united with a large force sent by Santa Anna to make its way on the extreme left round to the American rear.

Colonel May with his dragoons and a portion of the Illinois and Indianians was engaged in the unequal contest. General Taylor sent to his aid a portion of the artillery and the dragoons, with some of the volunteer cavalry.

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1847.

They soon accomplished the object by cutting off the retreat of the Mexicans who had passed so far beyond the American left. They were driven against the base of the mountain and thrown into inextricable confusion. Bragg advanced within close canister range, and with their wonted rapidity his guns played upon them: the shot tore and crashed through the bewildered multitude, and those next the mountain endeavored to escape by clambering up its sides. The whole force, about five thousand, became utterly helpless, while the wounded and dying were increasing at a fearful rate: the horses frantic with pain and terror added to the confusion. A few minutes more and they must have laid down their arms; at this crisis, as if to stay the arm of death, a white flag was seen approaching from General Taylor's position. When it came near the artillery ceased to fire.

Three Mexican officers had appeared as if for a parley; they professed to bear a message from the Mexican chief. When brought into the presence of General Taylor they wished to know "what he wanted." The reply was the surrender of the Mexican army. They asked time for consideration; the trick was not suspected, and the request was granted. A messenger bearing a white flag was hastened with orders to Captain Bragg to cease firing, as the Mexicans were about to lay down their arms.

General Wool was deputed to accompany the officers to Santa Anna, who took care not to be seen. As Wool perceived that the Mexicans continued to fire, though the Americans had ceased, he declared the conference at an end, and returned to his own army.

Meanwhile, under the protection of the flag of peace, the body of Mexicans in trouble stealthily crept along the base of the mountain out of danger, and joined their main army south of the plateau. Thus, whether designed or not, Santa Anna had extricated his soldiers, and had also learned from his spies—the Mexican officers—the small

number of American troops—only three regiments of infantry and three guns—on the plateau, and that their main portion was far to the left, whither they had driven the Mexican right wing. Shielding his men from sight by ravines and spurs of the mountain, he had for hours been concentrating all his strength for a final assault upon the American central position at the pass. At several points he had met with partial success; but in the main his plans had been frustrated by the indomitable courage, rapid movements, and hard fighting of his opponents.

Having concentrated his forces, he now brought his reserve into action, aided by the troops of the right wing which had just been rescued from peril. The whole force—twelve thousand strong—the front regiments composed of veterans, with General Perez at their head, moved up the ascent from the valley. The scattered companies (Illinois and Kentucky volunteers) in advance of the line were taken by surprise at the sudden appearance of the enemy in such numbers; the enemy, which an hour or two before they had seen in utter confusion, retreating from the field. The multitude, pouring in volley after volley of musketry, pressed on and compelled these companies to retire toward the lines. O'Brien was left almost alone with his artillery, yet for a time he maintained his place. His shot buried themselves in the ranks of the approaching enemy; but the mass closed up the gaps and steadily came nearer and nearer. For round shot he substituted canister, and they were checked for a time; but it was their last struggle to secure the field. Trusting to numbers and heedless of death, the mass again moved on. Presently there was not an infantry soldier to support the guns, nor a horse to draw them; still the gunners stood to their places, and retreated only as their pieces recoiled. At length overtaken, every officer or gunner either killed

CHAP.
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CHAP. or wounded, O'Brien himself among the latter, they aban-
LII. ——— doned them to the enemy.

1847. Meanwhile the companies of volunteers took refuge in a deep ravine to the right of the pass. The Mexicans lined its crest and kept upon them a continuous volley of musketry, to which they could scarcely reply, while their cavalry dashed forward to the mouth of the ravine to cut off their retreat. Fortunately the route of the cavalry brought them within range of Washington's battery at the pass. His guns were immediately brought to bear upon them; they recoiled, relinquished their object, and began to retreat, while, by throwing shot over the heads of the volunteers who were now moving out, he harassed them exceedingly. The Mexican infantry, now unopposed, descended into the ravine, and cruelly murdered every wounded man they could find.

It was in this desperate encounter that Colonels Hardin, McKee, and Henry Clay, junior, (son of the distinguished statesman,) and great numbers of brave and generous men were slain.

The crisis of the conflict was near. O'Brien overcome there was no one to oppose; and, encouraged by their success, the Mexicans pushed on with unusual vigor. At the commencement of this last attack the Americans were more or less scattered over the plateau and on the extremes of the field; but the heavy roar of the battle made known that the issue of the day was about to be determined, and they hastened, of their own accord, to the post of danger.

It was an hour of intense anxiety to General Taylor, as he saw this unexpected host advance in such order and with such determination. The battle had already lasted eight hours; the toil of so many rapid movements over the rough field had wearied his men, while the approaching enemy's force was fresh, and in number four to one

of his own. Was it possible to hold them in check till his own troops could come up? He sent messenger after messenger to urge them on. In one direction could be seen Bragg, and in another Sherman, driving with whip and spur the jaded horses attached to their batteries; while in the distance to the left of the pass, could be seen the Mississippians and Indianians, under their officers Davis and Lane, rapidly advancing, now in sight and now disappearing as they crossed the deep ravines.

Bragg was the first to come up. As he drew near he sent to ask for infantry to support his guns; but Taylor could only send him word that not a man could be had; he must fight to the death. The Mexicans were rushing on, and before he could unlimber his guns they were within a few yards of their muzzles; but his men seemed to be inspired with an energy beyond human, and with a rapidity greater than ever, discharge followed discharge. The enemy faltered, as if waiting for them to cease but for a moment, that they might rush forward and capture them. No such moment was granted; they still hesitated, and were thrown into confusion. By this time Sherman came up and opened with his wonted effect; in a few minutes more Washington's battery at the pass moved forward and did the same. Davis and Lane had just closed with the enemy's right flank and commenced to pour in their fire. The Mexicans recoiled on all sides; they could not carry the pass; hope seemed to desert every breast, and pell-mell they rushed from the field.

Thus ended the battle of Buena Vista. It had lasted ten hours; had been a series of encounters, in different parts of the field, each one severe in itself, but indecisive in result. Never before had an American army contended with such odds, and under disadvantages so great. It was won by the superior handling of the flying artillery, which thinned and broke the foremost ranks of the enemy before they could bring their superior numbers to bear.

CHAP. When repulsed, they invariably fell back out of danger,
LII.
1847. to be again re-formed for another attack, while the Americans, for want of cavalry and sufficient numbers, could not pursue and disperse them beyond the power of rallying. On the part of the latter the day was one of unremitting toil; their fewness of numbers, the extent of the field, the roughness of the ground, and the numerous attacks, forced them to be continually in rapid and laborious motion. General Taylor was in the midst of flying balls for eight hours, only one of which passed through his coat. He was ably seconded by his officers, not one of whom swerved from a post of danger nor neglected a duty—especially could this be said of General Wool, who seemed to be at every point where he was specially needed. The superior skill with which the American guns were handled was due to the exertions of the West Point officers, who spared no effort to infuse into the ranks their own spirit of discipline; and equal honor is due to the volunteers, who, with but few exceptions, cheerfully submitted to the requisite drudgery of drill.

The Mexicans hoped to win the battle by musketry and charges of cavalry; their heavy guns they did not bring upon the field, but placed them in battery in front of the pass.

The influence of this battle was more important than any one of the war. It destroyed that fictitious prestige which Santa Anna had obtained over his countrymen by his vain boastings and unsparing censure of their previous commanders, and it greatly increased their dread of the invader's artillery; henceforth they met them only from behind defences, and avoided them in the open field.

Night closed in. The Americans took every precaution to repel the attack which was expected the next morning. Strong pickets were posted to prevent the enemy from passing round to the right or left. The troops

having been supplied with their rations, remained on the field for the night. Fresh companies were brought from the rear to supply the place of those who took charge of the wounded, who were carried in wagons to Saltillo. The loss of the day had been two hundred and sixty-seven killed, and four hundred and fifty-six wounded.

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The morning dawned, but not a Mexican could be seen. Santa Anna had retreated, leaving his wounded to their fate, and his dead unburied. More than two thousand of his men, including many officers of high rank, lay scattered over the field.

Feb.
24.

Scouts hurried on to reconnoitre; in an hour or two they returned with information that he was far on his way toward Agua Nueva. General Taylor and his staff immediately moved on in the same direction, but sent in advance Major Bliss, with a proposition to Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners, and a request that he would send for his wounded, as well as another assurance that the American government was desirous of peace. An exchange of prisoners took place, but as Santa Anna professed to have no means to remove his wounded, he left them to be cared for by the Americans; as to the proposition for peace he replied, in his usual style of bravado, that he should prosecute the war until the invaders had left his country.

The Mexican soldiers were in a truly deplorable condition; they were without hospital supplies, and almost literally without food, and no means to obtain it—a desert before them, and a victorious enemy in their rear. Santa Anna urged on his retreat toward San Luis Potosi, whence one month before he had set out sure of victory; desertions had now reduced his great army to a mere remnant, and that discouraged by defeat, while confidence in his generalship was gone. In addition, signs of another revolution were appearing in the city of Mexico, by which his enemies might triumph.

CHAP.
LII.1847.
Feb.
27.

General Taylor advanced to Agua Nueva; thence two days later he detached Colonel Belknap, with the dragoons and a regiment of infantry—transported in wagons across the desert—to surprise the rear guard of the Mexican army at Encarnacion. The feat was successfully accomplished. All along the way from the battle-field were found multitudes of poor Mexican soldiers, left by their heartless companions to die of their wounds, hunger, and fatigue. As soon as possible the humane Taylor sent them provisions, and had those that could be removed conveyed to Saltillo and placed under the care of the American surgeons.

While these operations were in progress, the two Mexican generals, Urrea and Romero, with their corps of cavalry, had appeared on the line of communication between Saltillo and the Rio Grande. They had captured some wagons, taken some prisoners, and spread alarm all along the line. A sufficient force was now sent to chastise them, but they rapidly retreated out of danger by the pass of Tula, leaving the valley of the Rio Grande to the Americans.

Mar.
30.

General Taylor, by easy stages, retraced his steps, and encamped once more at the Walnut Springs, near Monterey.

Whilst the line of communication was broken, vague rumors reached the United States, first, that Santa Anna was approaching Monterey with a large army, then, that the American army had been overpowered. These apprehensions were greatly increased by a volunteer Colonel at Camargo, who, in his alarm, sent an urgent appeal for fifty thousand men to be sent immediately to the seat of war. Presently came intelligence of the battle of Buena Vista; and the intense anxiety of the people was changed to admiration for the men who, under such trying circumstances, had maintained the honor of their

country. Gen. Taylor, of whom so little had been known before the commencement of this war, rose higher and higher in public estimation. Some months later, when he returned to the United States, he was received with demonstrations of the highest respect.

CHAP.
LII.
1847.

It was an era in the education of young women in the United States, when in 1837 Mount Holyoke Seminary, in Massachusetts, began its grand work. This institution was the outgrowth of the untiring and consecrated zeal of Miss Mary Lyon, who was born in the town of Buckland in that State. Miss Lyon was very remarkable for her power of acquiring knowledge, and also for her skill in imparting the same to pupils. Because of limited means, her very hard lot in obtaining an education—which she did by her own exertions—suggested the field of her usefulness and appealed to her generous nature, and she devised a plan by which she hoped that girls situated as she had been could in part support themselves while being educated, by performing a portion of the household work of the institution.

1797.
Feb.
28.

In that day—to their shame be it said—legislatures appropriated funds only to colleges for young men, and Miss Lyon was forced to appeal to private Christian benevolence. After years of her persistent efforts, funds were secured; a substantial building was erected and equipped; and Holyoke opened its first session with eighty pupils. Miss Lyon presided over the institution till her death in 1849; this was after thirty-five years of active teaching and unremitting toil.

1849.

The reasons for founding Holyoke Seminary still remained, and that this fact elicited the practical sympathy of the benevolent, let our Vassars, Wellesleys, Smiths, Pittsburg College, and many other institutions for young women bear witness.

CHAPTER LIII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Emigration to Oregon.—John C. Fremont; his Explorations; his difficulties with the Mexican Governor.—American Settlers in alarm.—California free from Mexican Rule.—Monterey on the Pacific captured.—Commodores Sloat and Stockton.—Kearney's Expedition.—Santa Fé taken; a Government organized.—Doniphan's Expedition.—Various Conflicts.—Chihuahua occupied.—An Insurrection; its Suppression.—Trial of Fremont.

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LIII.

1842. THE importance of securing Oregon by settlement had especially attracted the attention of the people of the Western States. The stories of hunters, and the glowing descriptions given in the newspapers of that distant region, imbued the minds of the adventurous with an enthusiasm as ardent as that which glowed in the breasts of the earlier explorers and settlers of this country two and a half centuries before. A thousand emigrants, consisting of men, their wives and children, driving before them their flocks and herds, their only weapon the trusty rifle—alike to protect from savage violence and to procure sustenance from the wandering droves of buffalo and deer—set out from the confines of Missouri. They passed up the long eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, over them through the South Pass, thence to Lewis' River and down it to the Columbia, on whose shores they found a resting place, after a toilsome journey of six months, through an untrodden mountainous region.

These emigrants were followed the next year by

another company, consisting of two thousand, who passed
over the same route.

These enterprising settlers, with the few who had preceded them, labored under many difficulties, as the United States government did not exercise the jurisdiction which it claimed over the territory. A bill introduced into the Senate, granted lands to actual settlers, and made provision to maintain their rights as citizens by extending over them the laws of the territory of Iowa. Though this bill passed only the Senate, it gave encouragement to those persons who desired to emigrate to the banks of the Columbia. A colony thus planted by private enterprise, and thus slightly encouraged by the government, became the germ of another State, (Oregon) now added to the Union.

It was in connection with this awakened spirit of emigration that Colonel John C. Fremont, then a lieutenant, made his first exploring expedition. He was a young man, once friendless and unknown, but had risen by his own talents and industry, and on the recommendation of Poinsett, then Secretary of War, had been appointed in the Topographical Engineers by President Jackson. Fremont solicited and obtained permission from the government to explore the Rocky Mountains and their passes, but at this time with special reference to the South Pass and its vicinity. In six months he returned; he had accurately determined the location of that Pass, which now became a fixed point in the path of emigration to Oregon.

Soon after his return, Fremont again asked for orders to prosecute still further explorations in that distant region. They were given; but after his preparations were made, and he and his party had reached the frontiers of Missouri, the government countermanded his orders, on

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1843.

the singular plea that he had armed his party, in addition to their rifles, with a small mountain howitzer. But fortunately for science and the country, the letter containing the order came to Mrs. Fremont, whom he had requested to examine his letters and forward only those he ought to receive. She deemed the government countermand one that he ought not to receive, and Fremont knew nothing of its existence until he returned from his eventful tour. On his return he was received with honor, his conduct approved, and on the recommendation of the Secretary of War, William Wilkins, the brevet of captain was conferred upon him by President Tyler.

He had received special orders to survey the route of travel from the frontiers of Missouri to the tide-waters of the Columbia. This was accomplished by the first of November, after six months' labor, though often he diverged from the main route to make useful observations. He now resolved to return immediately, and when on the way to explore the vast territory which must lie between the route he had passed over and the Pacific. To pass through this region in midwinter was no easy matter. Soon deep snows appeared on the highlands, and the party descended into the valley, now known as the Great Basin, out of which flows no stream. On the west, the mountains loomed up with their snowy tops; everything was strange; the Indians, terrified at the approach of white men, fled: a desert appeared, and with it the vision of starvation and death. No place could they find, as they had hoped, where they might winter and derive their sustenance from hunting the animals of the forest. They passed down to the latitude of San Francisco, as found by astronomical observations; but between them and that place, the nearest point where they could obtain aid from civilized man, rose mountains, their snowy tops piercing the clouds; their sides frowning precipices thousands of feet high. No Indian would act as a guide through their

passes. The whole party, by excessive toil and want of food, were reduced to skeletons, both men and horses. Finally they "crawled over the Sierra Nevada," and arrived at the head-waters of the Sacramento. "In this eventful exploration, all the great features of the western slope of our continent were brought to light—the Great Salt Lake, the Utah Lake, the Little Salt Lake—at all which places, then desert, the Mormons now are; the Sierra Nevada, then solitary in the snow, now crowded with Americans, digging gold from its banks; the beautiful valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, then alive with wild horses, elk, deer, and wild fowls, now smiling with American cultivation. The Great Basin itself, and its contents; the Three Parks; the approximation of the great rivers which, rising together in the central region of the Rocky Mountains, go off east and west towards the rising and the setting sun,—all these, and other strange features of a new region, more Asiatic than American, were brought to light, and revealed to public view in the results of this exploration." ¹

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1843.

In May, Fremont set out on his third expedition to explore still further the Great West. There were now indications that war would soon result between Mexico and the United States. But to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Mexicans, he obtained permission from General De Castro, commandant at Monterey on the Pacific, to pass the following winter in the uninhabitable portion of the valley of the San Joaquin. But before long, De Castro professed to believe that his object was not scientific exploration, but to excite a rebellion among the American settlers, and he undertook to either drive him out of the country or capture the whole party. A messenger, secretly sent by the United States consul at

1845.

¹ Benton's 'Thirty Years' View, Vol. ii. Chap. 134.

CHAP. LIII. Monterey, Mr. Larkin, suddenly appeared in his camp and informed him of these unfriendly designs. Fremont im-

1845. mediately chose a strong position on a mountain, raised the American flag, and he and his sixty determined followers resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. After waiting four days, as De Castro hesitated to attack his camp, he came down from the mountain and set out for Oregon through the region of the Tlamath lakes.

1846. During the former part of May he was overtaken by a United States officer, Lieutenant Gillespie, who brought a letter of introduction from James Buchanan, Secretary of State, and verbal instructions to the effect that he should counteract any foreign scheme on California, and conciliate the good will of the inhabitants toward the United States.

Fremont was now on the confines of Oregon, but at once he turned back to California. When he arrived in the valley of the Sacramento, he found the whole community in a state of great excitement. Among the Mexicans two projects were in contemplation: one to massacre the American settlers; the other to place California under British protection, and thus shield themselves against the arms of the United States in case of a war with Mexico.

A deputation from the American settlers hastened to lay before him a statement of these facts; and, in addition, that the Indians had been incited against them; that General De Castro was on his march to attack them, and also that a British fleet was daily expected upon the coast.

Though the countries were at peace when he left home, the approach of De Castro with a hostile army demanded decisive measures, and Fremont accepted the trust in self-defence. The American settlers flocked to his camp, brought their horses, their ammunition, their provisions,

and submitted cheerfully to the strictness of military discipline. CHAP.
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In one month's time, after a few conflicts, Mexican rule was at an end in northern California. The flag of independence was raised, its device a grizzly bear—indicative of indomitable courage—while General De Castro was retreating, and all other schemes entirely prostrated. 1846.
June
1.
July
4.

Commodore Sloat, commanding on the Pacific, received directions from the Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft. "If you ascertain with certainty," said the Secretary, "that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit."

The commodore was at Mazatlan, and a British squadron, under Admiral Seymour, was there also. The former, from certain indications, suspected he was watched; if so, he determined to foil the admiral. Accordingly, he weighed anchor and sailed west as if going to the Sandwich Islands, Seymour followed, but in the night Sloat tacked and ran up the coast to Monterey, while Seymour continued on to the islands. Sloat arrived at Monterey and offered the usual civilities to the town; they were declined on a frivolous excuse. It was evident that his presence was not agreeable. Five days later he heard of the movements of Fremont and the settlers, and he at once took possession of the town. Then he sent a courier to the latter, who hastened with his mounted men to join the commodore. They were mutually astonished on finding that neither of them had acted under direct orders from their own government. The flag of independent California was now supplanted by the colors of the United States. July
7.

Commodore Stockton in a few days came into the harbor, to whom Sloat turned over the command, as he himself intended to return home. The next day came Admiral July
15.

CHAP. Seymour in his flag-ship. He saw with surprise the
LIII. American flag floating over the town, the American
1846. riflemen encamped near by, and an American fleet in the
Aug. harbor. One month later Stockton and Fremont took
17. possession of Los Angeles, the capital of Upper California.

California had been for some time in a half revolutionary state. The inhabitants were dissatisfied with Mexican rule. Some wished to join the United States, and some to seek the protection of Great Britain. The conciliatory course pursued by Fremont did much in winning the Californians to the American standard.

In the latter part of July the "Army of the West," under Colonel Kearney, consisting of eighteen hundred men, was concentrated near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. The Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, had given him instructions to take possession of New Mexico and Upper California, to establish therein temporary civil governments, to make known to the inhabitants the designs of the United States to provide them with free government, and that they would be called upon to elect representatives to their own territorial Legislatures.

The expedition moved rapidly toward Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. The population of that province was miscellaneous in its character; Indians, New Mexicans, (a mixture of Spanish and Indian,) some American settlers, and a few of Spanish blood. The mass of the population was half-civilized, by whom honor and morality were reckoned of little worth. They were cowardly, treacherous and cruel; ignorant and superstitious. The Indians, for the most part, held the idolatrous notions of the ancient Aztecs, and were so debased that a slight reward would insure the committal of almost any crime.

The governor, Armigo, a bad man and a bad ruler, made an effort to meet the invaders. He assembled about four thousand men, of all grades, and, with six field-pieces,

took position in a mountain gorge some fifteen miles in advance of Santa Fé; but for some reason, best known to himself, he abandoned his strong post and rapidly retreated southward, carrying off his own property, and leaving the people and the public interests to take care of themselves.

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1846.

Kearney entered Santa Fé and was courteously received by the lieutenant governor, Vigil. The following day the people assembled in the plaza and had made known to them the designs of the United States government. The majority professed themselves pleased with the change. In a few days the chiefs of the Pueblo Indians also gave in their adhesion to the new order of things.

Aug.
18.

Kearney erected and garrisoned a fort, and in the meanwhile made an excursion one hundred and fifty miles to the south to meet a force which a false rumor said was marching against him. On his return he established a government, at the head of which he placed Charles Bent, a worthy citizen of the territory, as governor. After pledging himself to protect the inhabitants against the inroads of the Eutaw and Navajoe Indians, he set out for California. His company consisted of only three hundred dragoons, but on the route, when near the river Gila, he met a messenger—the celebrated guide and pioneer Kit Carson—who brought intelligence of what had recently taken place in California under Stockton and Fremont. He now sent back two companies of dragoons under Major Sumner, and continued on himself with the remainder.

Thus, within three months after the orders had been issued at Washington, a force had been organized; a march of a thousand miles accomplished; and territory subdued, and a new government established on apparently a stable foundation. A half-civilized and vicious population are not fit subjects for self-government, and this in a short time proved a failure. Had Kearney remained to preserve discipline, that result might have

CHAP. been different, or at least delayed. The town was filled
 LIII.
 1846. with gambling-houses, and grog-shops, and haunts of every vice, while the free manners of the volunteers excited against themselves the hatred of the inhabitants, who laid their plans for revenge, and only waited an opportunity to carry them into effect.

Colonel Kearney gave directions to Colonel Doniphan, whom he left at Santa Fé, to enter the country of the Navajoe Indians, living on the waters of the Gulf of California, and induce them to make peace. Doniphan, with a thousand Missouri volunteers, in three divisions and by as many routes, entered the territory of the hostile tribe, and obtained from them a treaty, by which they agreed to refrain from depredations upon the people of New Mexico. This march, so remarkable, was made in the winter, across mountains covered with snow, and through an unknown region inhabited by barbarous tribes. Doniphan delayed but a short time in negotiating with the Indians, then he passed on to the south-east to meet General Wool at Chihuahua.

The absence of so many men with Doniphan afforded the looked-for opportunity to commence an insurrection in New Mexico. The plot was deep laid and kept a profound secret. Suddenly Governor Bent was murdered, with five other officers of the territory, some of whom were Mexicans, at Taos, fifty miles north of Santa Fé. The same day witnessed the murder of many others in the upper valley of the Rio Grande.

Colonel Price, of the Missouri mounted volunteers, was at Santa Fé with the main force, while detachments were scattered over the country grazing their horses on the plains. With only three hundred and fifty men, Price hastened to meet the insurgents, in the valley of Taos. They, numbering about fifteen hundred, took position in

a pass of the road through the highlands. Price routed them and continued his march up the valley; but the insurgents made a stand at another pass, still stronger by nature, so narrow that three men could scarcely march abreast, while it was protected by rugged mountains covered with cedars growing in the crevices of the rocks. An advance party clambered up through the cedars, and the terrified Mexicans took to flight.

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1847.

Their principal place of defence was taken in a few days, and the rebellion suppressed. Peace was promised only on the condition that the ringleaders should be given up; this was complied with, and several of them were hanged at San Fernando: a hard fate for those who were fighting against the invaders of their country.

Colonel Doniphan, accompanied by a large number of merchant wagons, crossed without loss a region destitute of water or grass—a desert ninety miles in extent, known as the Jornada del Muerto, or Journey of Death—the road marked by the graves of former travellers and the bones of beasts of burden. In one instance his men and animals nearly gave out from thirst, when providentially a rain relieved them; a remarkable occurrence in itself, as at that season of the year rain seldom falls in that region.

He learned that the Mexicans, under General Heredia, who commanded in the North-western Department, were awaiting his approach; nothing daunted he dashed on. His force, including merchants, numbered but eight hundred and fifty-six effective men, nearly all backwoodsmen; all mounted, armed with rifles, and good marksmen; untrammelled by discipline, each one fought as he listed. Near Brazito, in the valley of the Rio Grande, they dismounted and were scattered seeking wood and water, when the scouts brought word that the Mexicans were approaching. The alarm was sounded;

1846.
Dec.
26.

CHAP. all flew to arms, and amid a din of shouts fell into ranks
LIII. as best they could. The Mexicans—more than twelve

1846. hundred strong, and with a piece of artillery—drew near; an officer bearing a black flag made his appearance, and in a magniloquent speech, declaring that no quarter would be given, summoned the Missourians to surrender. Doniphan's answer was characteristic and defiant.

The Mexican cavalry extended far to the right and left, while the infantry, firing volleys of musketry, advanced in front. Presently they came within rifle range, and the backwoodsmen threw away scarcely a shot. The whole body of the enemy broke and fled—they lost nearly two hundred men, killed and wounded, in a few minutes. Only seven Americans were wounded.

Two days later Doniphan entered the beautiful village of El Paso, "where a neat cultivation, a comfortable people, fields, orchards, and vineyards, and a hospitable reception, offered the rest and refreshment which toils, and dangers, and victory had won." There he waited till artillery could join him from Santa Fé, and then commenced his march upon Chihuahua.

1847.
Feb.
8.

The Mexicans kept out of the way; but after a march of nineteen days it was ascertained that they had taken position at a pass of the Sacramento, a small branch of the Rio Grande. Here General Herredia made a stand with a force of four thousand men, protected by intrenchments across the pass, and on the neighboring hills, but defences were of little avail against men who never hesitated to attack an enemy. Doniphan suddenly diverted his route from the main road, forced his way round to the flank of their advance, and before the Mexicans could bring their guns to bear, he was in full play upon them with his own artillery. Their cavalry as well as artillery, fell back and retired across the river. Now the intrenchments were to be forced; this was done in true backwoods style. Each man rushed on and fought on

his own responsibility; some rode along the intrenchments seeking a place to enter, while others dismounted and crept up to pick off their defenders. The Mexicans fled from the presence of their assailants, who leaped over the works and secured every place within reach. Meanwhile a party of mounted volunteers crossed the river to storm, on horseback, a battery which crowned the hill on the opposite side. This singular engagement cost the Mexicans three hundred killed and a greater number wounded, while the Missourians lost but one killed, one mortally wounded, and a few disabled. The enemy, completely routed, abandoned every thing; the officers fled toward the south, and the common soldiers to the mountains.

CHAP.
LIII.1847.
Feb.
28.

The following day Doniphan, without opposition, entered Chihuahua—a city of nearly thirty thousand inhabitants—raised the American flag on its citadel, and, in the name of his government, took possession of the province. He was in a very perilous situation, with only a thousand men, from among whom almost every vestige of discipline had vanished. In this city were many American merchants, most of whom were wealthy. Doniphan's measures were prudent and just, and they conciliated the inhabitants.

Mar.
2.

On the 27th of April he set out for Saltillo, where he arrived in a month without opposition, except from a few Indians. From Saltillo he marched to Matamoras; and as the term of his men was about to expire, they were taken to New Orleans and there discharged.

April.

The most remarkable expedition on record. They had passed over nearly five thousand miles, three thousand of which was a march through an unknown and hostile country swarming with foes. They returned in one year; no body of troops had ever in so short a time passed over so much space or surmounted so many obstacles.

Fremont was the military commandant of California,

CHAP. under a commission from Commodore Stockton. Soon
LIII.
1847. after the Commodore sailed from San Francisco to Mon-
Aug. terey, and thence to San Diego. The recently established
government was placed in peril; a deep laid plot was in
train, and only a favorable opportunity was wanting to
commence the insurrection. Fremont, by a rapid and
secret march of one hundred and fifty miles, surprised
and captured the main leader of the insurgents, Don J.
Pico, who had been a prisoner, and had violated his
parole. A court martial sentenced him to death. Fre-
mont remitted the sentence, and thus won Pico's influence
and aid in tranquilizing the country. He also endeavored
to conciliate the inhabitants, and made no attack upon
the hostile parties, which hovered around his march. He
came up with the main Mexican force, under Don An-
dreas Pico, brother of the one whom he had just pardoned.
He sent them a summons to surrender, and they agreed
to deliver up their artillery and promised to return to
their homes. They were not required to take the oath of
allegiance, until a treaty of peace should be concluded
between the United States and Mexico.

Dec. Commodore Stockton now learned of the approach
of General Kearney. The latter had experienced great
difficulties on his march; attacked by the enemy, he was
placed in desperate circumstances at San Pasqual; his
provisions gone, his horses dead, his mules disabled, and
most of his men sick, while the enemy in great numbers
completely surrounded his camp and held possession of
all the roads. Three brave men—Kit Carson, Lieutenant
Beales, of the Navy, and an Indian—volunteered to find
their way to San Diego, thirty miles distant, and inform
Commodore Stockton of Kearney's peril. The Commo-
dore promptly sent assistance, at whose appearance the
enemy retired and Kearney was enabled to reach San
Diego.

Jan.
8.

A month later took place the battle at the river San

Gabriel. Then General Flores, chief of the insurgents, CHAP. LIII. sent a flag of truce, proposing a cessation of hostilities in California, and to let the sovereignty of the territory be determined by the result of the war between the United States and Mexico. Stockton refused to accede to the request, and continued his march. Another flag of truce came in. Now it was offered to surrender the town of Los Angeles, if the rights of the people and their property should be preserved. On these conditions the capital of Upper California was surrendered a second time, and the possession of the country more firmly established than before the insurrection. 1848.

Difficulties now arose among the officers in relation to the question who should be governor. But recent orders from Washington relieved Stockton of his civil functions, which devolved upon General Kearney as he happened to be on the ground. In truth, the civil government was only in name beyond the range of the American cannon. Mar.

Fremont, however, refused to recognize the authority of Kearney, and was brought to trial charged with disobedience of orders and mutiny. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to be dismissed from the service. The President did not approve of all the findings of the court; but, because of "the peculiar circumstances of the case and his previous meritorious and valuable services," remitted the sentence and restored him to his rank in the army. Fremont would not accept the clemency of the President, and thus admit that the proceedings of the court were just; he at once resigned his commission. In a few weeks he set out at his own expense on his fourth tour of exploration in the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER LIV.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED.

Movement of Troops.—Vera Cruz invested.—Its Bombardment and Capitulation.—Santa Anna's Energy.—Battle of Cerro Gordo.—General Scott at Puebla.—His Misunderstandings with the Authorities at Washington.—Commissioner Trist.—Dissensions in Mexico.—Scott's Manifesto.—Reinforcements.—Advance upon the Capital.—El Penon turned.—Battle of Contreras; of Churubusco.—Attempts to obtain Peace.—Conflict of Molino del Rey.—The Castle of Chapultepec captured.—The American Army enters the City.—Santa Anna again in the Field; dismissed from the Mexican Service.—Treaty of Peace.—Its Conditions.—Evacuation of Mexico.—Misunderstanding among the American Officers.—Discovery of Gold in California.—The Effects.—Death of John Quincy Adams.—The Wilmot Proviso.—The Presidential Election.

CHAP. WHILE these events were in progress, plans were
LIV. — formed and partially executed to invade Mexico from
1846. the east; to secure Vera Cruz, the best harbor on the coast, and then, if peace could not be obtained, to march upon the capital itself.

Numerous delays impeded operations, and it was near the end of November before General Scott left Washington for the seat of war. The quarter-master, General Jessup, was already at New Orleans preparing transports for the troops; and communications were held with Commodore Connor in relation to the co-operation of the fleet. The troops, as already mentioned, drawn from Taylor's command, were speedily concentrated at convenient points on the coast, but the want of transports prevented their embarkation. The place of rendezvous was at the island

of Lobos, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz. At length the transports were ready, the troops, about twelve thousand strong, embarked, and, on the morning of the 9th of March, began to land near Vera Cruz. No enemy appeared to dispute the movement.

CHAP.
LIV.
1847.

That city contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants. It was protected on its land side by numerous defences, while on the side of the Gulf, upon a reef, stood the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, garrisoned by a thousand men, who manned one hundred and twenty-eight heavy guns; the strongest fortification on the continent, with the exception of Quebec.

The next morning General Worth was ordered to commence the line of investment, which extended nearly six miles. The Mexicans appeared to oppose, but a few shots from the cannon dispersed them. The weather was excessively hot and sultry, and the march through the deep sand laborious and tedious.

The Governor of the State of Vera Cruz now issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the town to defend themselves, while he should retire to harass the invaders and cut off their supplies. He soon appeared among the sand hills, but after a short skirmish, he thought it prudent to keep out of sight. The cannonading from the town and castle was incessant, but without much execution, owing to the distance. The men kept close in their trenches and did not reply. The munitions which had recently arrived were now landed, and the Americans were ready to commence the bombardment. General Scott summoned the city to surrender, stipulating, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants, that no batteries should be placed in the town to attack the Castle, unless the latter fired upon the Americans. General Morales, the commander of both the city and castle refused to comply with the summons.

CHAP.
LIV.1847.
Mar.
22.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the bombardment commenced. The Mexicans replied with every gun and mortar that could be brought to bear from the city and castle. Some of the smaller American vessels crept near and with their heavy guns added to the uproar; thus through the night the contest lasted. Other guns were brought, and other batteries erected within a thousand yards of the devoted city. They were hidden behind the chaparral; this was cleared away, and revealed to the besieged a new foe—the battery of Paixhan guns. Their astonishment was great; upon this new enemy who had dared to take position so near, they resolutely directed all their force for many hours. They fired rapidly and with precision, but failed to silence this battery.

How terrific was this storm! Twenty-one heavy guns pouring forth an incessant stream of balls and shells; the heavy shot broke through the solid walls and crashed through the houses, while the shells, still more terrible, scattered ruin and death in the streets, and burned every building that would burn. With scarcely any intermission, for four days this horrid work continued. The inhabitants, to be out of range, left their homes, and helplessly crowded upon the mole at the north part of the town, but ere long the balls began to come nearer and nearer. For twelve days the town had been invested, and its provisions were now nearly exhausted. The foreign residents implored their consuls to aid them. The latter obtained permission of Morales to send a flag of truce to General Scott. They asked a cessation of hostilities till the foreigners, with their families, and the Mexican women and children could leave the place. The request was properly refused, on the ground that permission had once been offered the foreign residents to leave the town, and that the petition to receive attention must come from the Mexican governor.

The American batteries re-opened as soon as the flag

entered the city, and continued during the night. At break of day another flag was seen approaching. The firing ceased. Negotiations commenced, and were terminated by the surrender of Vera Cruz, the Castle, the armaments and stores of each, and the soldiers as prisoners of war. These terms were agreed to by General Scott and Commodore Perry, who was in command of the squadron. The soldiers were to march out, with the honors of war, lay down their arms and be dismissed on their parole. The inhabitants were guaranteed in their civil and religious rights.

CHAP.
LIV,
1847.

Mar.
29.

General Worth was appointed governor of Vera Cruz. The advance division, under General Twiggs, soon commenced the march for the city of Mexico by way of Jalapa. The whole army amounted to only eight thousand five hundred men, but there preceded them an influence, that threw a shadow of despondency over the minds of the Mexicans.

April
8.

Santa Anna had been very active since his defeat at Buena Vista, (which he labored hard to prove to his countrymen was not a defeat at all; he only retreated for want of provisions,) in collecting another army, and he had already arrived with twelve thousand men at Cerro Gordo, a mountain pass at the eastern edge of the Cordilleras. In the midst of revolutions and distractions, he marched to this, the first of the "Thermopylæ," which he promised his countrymen to defend. Within two months after a disastrous defeat, without money, without the prestige of success, he had quelled an insurrection and established his own power, raised an army, portions of which had marched from three hundred to six hundred miles; had constructed the fortifications at Cerro Gordo, and made a ditch twelve miles long to supply the camp with water.

CHAP.
LIV.1847.
April
18.

The positions of the Mexicans were reconnoitred, and the attack commenced by the division under General Twiggs, sent to turn their position. Presently the whole front was assailed. The Americans seized another hill, El Telegrapho, up the sides of which they dragged heavy cannon, and began to play upon the defences of Cerro Gordo. The Mexicans replied with great vigor. During this mutual cannonade, Colonel Harney led his men rapidly down into the valley between the hills, and began to ascend the slope toward the defences on the top. The declivity was steep and rugged, and soon the entire fire of the battery was directed against these new assailants, but fortunately the balls for the most part passed over their heads. But without wavering they pressed up, carried one breastwork after another, until they presented themselves at the last, the strongest on the summit. Santa Anna, a short hour before, had ordered General Vasquez to defend this post to the last extremity, and he bravely stood his ground, and fell while encouraging his men; confusion ensued, and the struggle was soon ended. The Americans poured in a stream of balls, forced their way through the breastwork, and then charged with the bayonet. The garrison fled down the western slope in the direction of Jalapa. Twiggs had passed round the hill, their retreat was cut off and they made prisoners. At this moment Santa Anna returned. He was enraged beyond bounds at seeing the discomfiture of his troops in a position which he was certain could have been maintained. He ordered General Canalizo to charge up the hill and recapture Cerro Gordo; the latter absolutely refused to obey, but led off his cavalry. Then Santa Anna mounted a mule taken from his carriage, and fled, leaving as trophies to his enemies his travelling equipage and his private papers.

The Mexican army was annihilated and scattered in all directions, they had lost more than a thousand men, killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, five gen-

erals, all their artillery and military stores. This was not obtained without a severe loss to the invaders, who, in their rash and headlong charges in the face of batteries, and well protected musketeers, had lost four hundred and thirty-one, killed and wounded, of whom thirty-three were officers.

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1847.

Possession was taken of Jalapa, three days later of Perote, a stronghold on the summit of the Cordilleras, which was abandoned almost without a struggle, and then of the city of Puebla—containing eighty thousand inhabitants. At the latter city General Scott established his head-quarters.

April.
19.

May
15.

The volunteers' term of enlistments would expire in one month. They refused to re-enlist, but urged that they should be permitted to return to the United States, and there be disbanded, rather than on the soil of Mexico. They greatly dreaded the vomito, or yellow fever, as the season in which it was most severe was near at hand. Though they had no claims to be thus dismissed, General Scott indulged them, as it would be impossible to secure the capital, if the volunteers insisted on returning home at the end of their term of enlistments. Thus situated he was forced to remain inactive three months, till reinforcements arrived from the United States.

Aug.
15

During this interval several circumstances occurred which embarrassed the General-in-Chief's movements as well as disturbed his equanimity. First was the effort made, as he thought, to degrade him from his position in the army. This was to be accomplished by appointing over him a Lieutenant-General, a rank never held in the service except by Washington. The measure failed to pass the Senate. The same end was apparently aimed at in another measure by which power was given the President to appoint officers to any position in the army, without regard to their previous rank.

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1847.

Instead of money to buy provisions, came an order from the Secretary of War to authorize the collection of duties levied on merchandise entering the Mexican ports. In the same communication was another order to levy contributions upon the Mexican people. This Scott absolutely refused to obey, as General Taylor had also done, giving as a reason the poverty of that part of the country. Says Scott in a letter to the Secretary: "If it is expected at Washington, as is now apprehended, that this army is to support itself by forced contributions upon the country, we may ruin and exasperate the inhabitants and starve ourselves; for it is certain they would sooner remove or destroy the products of their farms, than allow them to fall into our hands without compensation. Not a ration for man or horse would be brought in except by the bayonet, which would oblige the troops to spread themselves out many leagues to the right and left in search of subsistence, and stop all military operations."¹ And he continued to buy provisions for the army at the regular prices of the country, and thus did much to allay a rising feeling of hatred toward the Americans.

The Secretary had given as a reason for this order, that the Mexican people thus laid under contribution, and compelled to bear the expenses of the war, would soon become willing to conclude a treaty of peace. This might apply to the public revenues, and that part of the order the General took measures to have complied with.

Other difficulties arose. After the capture of Vera Cruz General Scott suggested to the President the sending of commissioners to head-quarters to treat for peace, should an opportunity occur. For this important duty, the President appointed Mr. N. P. Trist, whose qualifications were that he had been Consul at Havana, could

¹ Gen. Scott's letter to the Sec. of War, as quoted by Ripley, Vol. ii., p. 95.

speak Spanish and professed to understand the Mexican character, his skill as a diplomatist could be inferred only from the fact that he was "Chief Clerk" in the State Department. Having in his possession the draft of a treaty fully drawn out at the department of State, he left Washington and arrived at Vera Cruz. He also bore a despatch from the Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations. The plan of the treaty and his instructions he was directed to make known confidentially both to General Scott and Commodore Perry. The Secretary of War, Mr. Marcy, wrote to the General-in-Chief, informing him of the mission, but in general terms, and directed him to suspend active military operations till further orders, unless he was attacked.

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 1847.

May.

Instead of making known to General Scott the designs of his mission as directed, Mr. Trist sent a short note to head-quarters from Vera Cruz, and transmitted the sealed despatch to be forwarded to the Mexican Minister, and the letter from Secretary Marcy; the latter could not be understood without the explanations which Mr. Trist alone could give. The general could only see in this an underhand attempt to degrade him by making him in some way subordinate to the "Chief Clerk." However, in a few days he wrote to Mr. Trist, what he knew of the views of the Mexican people and government in relation to a treaty of peace, to which at present they were opposed. In conclusion, he remarked, that the suspension of hostilities belonged properly to the military commander on the field, and not to a Secretary of War a thousand miles distant.

In reply Trist gave full explanation of his mission, but in disrespectful and arrogant terms, assumed to be the aide-de-camp of the President, and in that capacity to order the General-in-Chief.¹ This correspondence led to

¹ Ripley's War with Mexico, Vol. ii., pp. 100, 147.

CHAP. much harsh feeling and retarded the advancement of the
LIV. cause. At length explanations in relation to the com-
1842. missioner of peace came to the general from the author-
ities at Washington. The Secretary of State severely
censured Mr. Trist "for his presuming to command the
General-in-Chief."

Santa Anna fled from Cerro Gordo to Orizaba, where he remained some time to organize bands of guerillas to harass the American trains, which would be on their way from Vera Cruz. Afterward he returned to Mexico to find his popularity on the wane. For a time the Mexicans were paralyzed with consternation. Their army on which they had depended so much had been totally routed at Cerro Gordo. The invincible enemy was pressing on; not a barrier intervened between them and the capital. The city was filled with factions; the national councils were divided; ambitious men forgot their patriotism in their desire for self-aggrandizement. The treasury was bankrupt, its only resource forced loans. Yet in the face of all these difficulties, Santa Anna did succeed in raising an army of twenty-five thousand men with sixty pieces of artillery, and in having the city fortified. After all he was the best commander the nation could afford, and the soldiers once more put themselves under his direction, to repel the invaders of their country and their sacred homes. They did not flock to his standard from a prestige of victory, for even when his boasts were still ringing in their ears, he had been ignominiously defeated; nor were they induced by the confidence reposed in the integrity of a great and good man, to whom, as if to a superior being, the multitude turn in times of great peril; but from sheer necessity.

Santa Anna understood the Mexican character. By intrigue and the exercise of a vigorous arm, he seized property, and imprisoned or banished his opponents; by

pretending to be desirous of peace he gained time, and dishonestly entered upon negotiations; offered himself to be bribed, and was accepted. His plans were cunningly devised: if they succeeded, the glory would all redound to his name; if they failed, the censure could be thrown upon others.

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1847.

Thus he employed the three months that General Scott was forced to wait for the arrival of reinforcements. Had the volunteers consented to remain in the service six months longer, in all probability the capture of Mexico and a treaty of peace would have ended the campaign, and the blood spared which was shed in such profusion in the subsequent conflicts.

When at Jalapa General Scott issued a proclamation to the people of Mexico. This manifesto, in its tone and spirit, was well adapted to the state of affairs of the country, in showing that the true policy of the Mexican people was to conclude a treaty on the liberal terms offered by the government of the United States. The proclamation was issued at the instance of several Mexican gentlemen of influence, one of whom composed it in original Spanish, as it was dictated by the general. It was well received by the people in the country; but Santa Anna captured a courier, who was bearing copies of it to the capital. He at once discovered by the style that it was not a translation, and he proclaimed with his usual virtuous indignation, that it was the production of some Mexican traitor, and thus neutralized its effects on the people of the city.

April
20.

At this time, he had by secret agents intimated to Mr. Trist that he was desirous of peace, and plainly that money would be still more acceptable: if a million of dollars were placed at his disposal something might be done. That this proposition might be considered, a reconciliation took place between the general and the com-

June
25.

CHAP. LIV. missionary; as neither could well act without the other.

General Pillow, who had just arrived at Puebla, was also
1847. admitted to these conferences. He was a particular friend of the President, and, owing to the "informal and confidential request" sent from Washington, this participation was granted. Communications were continued with Santa Anna, but with no more important result than that the latter received ten thousand dollars of the secret service money at the disposal of General Scott.

As might have been anticipated, it was soon seen that Santa Anna's only object was to obtain money and gain time, and General Scott made preparations to advance upon the city as soon as the reinforcements under Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce would arrive from Vera Cruz. Meantime, the way to the city had been thoroughly reconnoitred, and General Worth sent forward with the first division. The whole army consisted of not more than ten thousand men, as great numbers had been left in the hospitals at Perote.

The region through which they marched was a high table land beautiful in the extreme, well watered, interspersed with valleys and mountains, whose slopes were covered with the richest verdure, while in the distance their snow-capped summits glittered in the bright sunshine of August. Almost from the same spot where more than three hundred years before Cortez and his followers viewed the distant temples of the city of Montezuma, the Americans hailed with cheers the city of Mexico.

The passes on the direct route had been well fortified, and were well garrisoned in the confident expectation that their positions could not be turned. The strongest of these was El Penon, to capture which the American engineers stated would require the loss of three thousand lives. General Scott was proverbially careful of the lives of his soldiers; the sacrifice must be avoided. The vicinity of the city was reconnoitred in the most daring manner;

and it was discovered that the defences south and west were not so strongly fortified. CHAP.
LIV.

The general diverted his course to the left and turned El Penon on the south side, and under the direction of skilful engineers crossed chasms and ravines deemed impassable, and therefore but imperfectly guarded. General Twiggs led the advance, and encamped at Chalco on the lake of the same name. Worth followed, took the lead, and with his division halted at the town of San Augustin, about eight miles from the city. In his front was the strong fortress of San Antonio, now the head-quarters of Santa Anna, who left El Penon, when he found that the Americans were on their march round to the south side of the city. North-west of San Antonio and four miles from the city was the village of Churubusco, rendered strong by a series of intrenchments. Not far to the west of the village of San Augustin was the fortified camp of Contreras, which contained six thousand men; in the rear between the camp and the city were placed twelve thousand men in reserve. The whole number of Mexicans in these various defences was about thirty-five thousand, with nearly one hundred pieces of artillery of various sizes. 1847.

General Persifer F. Smith proposed to attack the camp at Contreras, which was under the command of General Valencia. The night had been one of cold rain and storm and intense darkness, except when enlivened by the fitful glare of the lightning. At three o'clock in the morning, the expedition set out; the soldiers, lest they should become separated on the march, were directed to take hold of each other—at sunrise the conflict commenced. The Mexicans were but partially surprised, still the impetuous attack effectually routed them; three thousand of their number were made prisoners, eighty officers and thirty-five pieces of artillery. Among the latter were two pieces taken at Buena Vista, now recap- Aug.
17.

Aug.
19.

CHAP. tured by a portion of the regiment to which they origin-
LIV. ally belonged. Thus commenced this eventful day—
1847. severer conflicts were yet to come.

Generals Shields and Pierce had, during the night, thrown their divisions between Santa Anna and Contreras. The fugitives from the latter place had fled to Churubusco, and there fresh troops had also arrived from the city; it seemed from the preparations, that here a desperate defence was to be made.

A convent, a very strong stone building, was well fortified and pierced for muskets and cannon, also the head of the bridge over the river was well defended.

In an hour or two General Scott arrived; as he rode along through the army he was received with hearty cheers. The morning's success had filled the soldiers with enthusiasm, and they hoped on that day to end the war.

Santa Anna himself was busily engaged in arranging his men beyond the Churubusco River—whose banks were lined with the maguey plant, which shielded nearly all his force from view.

The rain of the previous night had flooded the lowlands in the vicinity; the fortifications were masked by trees and fields of corn; the latter flooded, and every part well known to the enemy, whose guns were so arranged as to sweep them perfectly. When the Americans commenced the attack, their officers, in the face of these batteries, would advance and reconnoitre the ground, then the men would march up to that point, the officers would again advance, and the same process be repeated. During this time the cannon balls from the unseen enemy came crashing through the corn, the men and officers fell rapidly, yet as if impelled by some all powerful influence, they moved steadily on until the works of Churubusco were in their hands.

General Scott sent round to the other side a division under General Pillow; they waded through the mud and

water, in some instances waist deep, before they could reach the enemy. Several companies were entirely broken up, Captain Taylor's artillery men were cut up, his horses killed, when suddenly the Mexicans rushed out of the convent to charge; but at this moment a company of American infantry came up and repulsed the assailants.

CHAP.
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1847.

The ground was intersected by causeways, and it was impossible to preserve military order; also owing to their ignorance of the position of the enemy, as well as their own, the Americans were constantly in danger of firing upon their own friends. The battle raged in every direction. General Worth carried San Antonio, and General Twiggs another fortress. The Mexicans fought bravely, they were more than three to one of their foes, and they made every effort to repel them.

For two hours the battle had raged. The smoke completely enshrouded the position of the Mexicans. The roar of their twenty thousand muskets seemed to drown the noise of the artillery, and to render the din of the conflict peculiarly terrific.

The Americans could but feel their way through the corn, and across causeways and ditches, ignorant at what moment they might come upon concealed batteries. At length a party were enabled to cross the river Churubusco, and presented themselves in the rear of the enemy, at the same moment Worth's division emerged from the corn-fields in their front; those in the rear rushed across ditches and over the parapets and carried the works, while the Mexicans at the head of the bridge abandoned it; their guns were immediately seized and turned upon them. Both divisions pressed forward with the bayonet, the Mexicans recoiled in confusion, and finally fled; the dragoons pursuing them to the very gates of the city.

The victory was won, but it had cost the Americans dear; a thousand had fallen or been disabled, among these were seventy-six officers. The coolness, the in-

CHAP. domitable courage and perseverance of both men and
LIV. officers were never better displayed. The ground was

1847. unknown, and they were thrown upon their own resources; there was no wavering; each one performed his part, and adapted himself to the emergency. In no battle did the Mexicans fight better; they struggled hard, and the number of their slain and wounded and missing—nearly seven thousand—testifies that they were brave.

Santa Anna fled to the city. The night after the battle several persons connected with the British embassy in Mexico appeared at the American head-quarters, and informed General Scott that the Mexican authorities were disposed to conclude a peace, and advised that the capital should not be assaulted, lest the members of the government should be dispersed, and leave no acknowledged authority to enter upon negotiations.

A flag of truce came the next day and presented the request for hostilities to cease preparatory to negotiating a treaty. In accordance with this request, and the representations made the previous evening, Mr. Trist went to the capital and presented his conditions of peace—the same drawn up at Washington. After protracted delays, evidently designed to gain time, the Mexican commissioners announced that they would not accede to these conditions, and in turn they proposed others, which they well knew would not be acceptable.

Sept.
5.

Mr. Trist returned with this intelligence, and also that contrary to the terms of the armistice, Santa Anna was fortifying the city, and in other respects had violated his pledges.

Indignant at the continued treachery, General Scott now ordered the army to march upon the capital.

On the way were two strong positions: the one Molino del Rey, (the King's Mill,) a foundry, where, it was said, the bells of the churches were being rapidly converted into cannon; near by was the strong castle of Chapultepec,

which could not be turned, but must be taken, before the city could be reached.

It was resolved to capture Molino del Rey; and at three in the morning General Worth sent forward the different corps of his division to commence the attack at dawn of day. While it was yet dark, the two twenty-four pounders opened and sent their balls through the walls of masonry. There was no reply, and it was thought the Mexicans had abandoned the building. Instead, they had changed their position during the night, and now had their guns in readiness to pour grape and round shot upon the flank of the advancing Americans. From the manifest preparations, it is thought, Santa Anna, who was on the ground, knew of the intended attack. His advantages in number and position were great, and when his guns opened, their effect was terrible. In a few minutes the front of the American advance was cut down; of fourteen officers, eleven were either killed or wounded, and a like proportion of the men. The company was forced to fall back, and the Mexicans, as usual, with savage ferocity, rushed out and murdered all the wounded they could find.

Worth ordered forward other companies, and these were seconded by another brigade, who vigorously attacked the Mexican flank. Though exposed to a cross fire which did fearful execution, these all fought desperately; it would seem that the idea of retreating from the face of such overwhelming odds, never occurred to them; they held on and steadily advanced.

Presently General Leon himself headed a strong sortie from the Molino del Rey, but it was driven back; Leon was mortally wounded, and several officers of high rank were slain. The attack was continued in a desultory manner, the assailants sought in various ways to gain access to the enemy; they crept along the sides and fired into the apertures, climbed to the top of the building and tore down the walls with their hands or pried the stones

CHAP.
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Sept.
8.

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1847. loose with their bayonets. At length they broke through the southern gate, and rushing in with loud shouts engaged in close combat. The Mexicans did not yield, but continued to fire upon them, from the building into the courtyards. The Americans burst open door after door, reached the roof, and with the bayonet met the enemy hand to hand. In a few minutes the north-west gate was in like manner forced. A portion of the Mexicans held out a white flag in token of surrender, while others made their way to Chapultepec.

This has been deemed the hardest contested conflict of the entire war. The enemy were in numbers three to one, and in a strong position. After the commencement of the attack, the Americans had scarcely any aid from their heavy cannon, but were forced to depend upon their rifles and muskets. Still they carried the place, and captured eight hundred prisoners, and lost themselves seven hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, of whom fifty-nine were officers—nearly one-fourth of the whole number engaged in the battle. The loss of so many brave men shed a gloom over the entire army.

The Castle of Chapultepec stood on a high and precipitous hill, very steep and rocky, on the south side toward the Americans; on the west the slope was more gradual, but covered with dense woods and rough with rocks. Here, shielded by these, was a large force of Mexicans.

Sept.
13. At the earliest dawn the full force of the American cannon was concentrated upon the walls of the castle, and at the west side, storming parties were waiting anxiously for a breach to be made, by which they might carry it by assault. They groped their way from tree to tree and rock to rock, driving the Mexicans before them, when suddenly, on the crest of the hill, the whole force came out on the open space in the presence of ramparts frowning with cannon and musketry. They ap-

proached cautiously, returning only a few shots, but still drawing nearer and nearer. Presently an ensign bearing the standard of his regiment, rushed forward to the rampart, a shout arose, and a few followed with ladders, placed them against the wall and with a cheer bounded over. The Mexicans, taken by surprise, stood but a few minutes, then scrambled over the side and down the precipitous rocks out of danger. This was the only instance during the war where the Americans so far forgot themselves as not to cease their fire at the submission of the foe, and even now it continued only for a few minutes. Their provocations had been great. Only a few days before, as on every other occasion, they had seen their wounded companions, found on the field of battle, barbarously murdered by the Mexicans. The exulting shouts, the disregard of discipline, which continued for an hour, only manifested the deep emotions which prevailed.

The castle was a mass of ruins; so effective had been the shots and shells, that it was battered to pieces. Here had been the national military school, and here the young students had bravely stood their ground. All of their number, who were not slain, were taken prisoners, with the aged General Bravo their commander.

While the conflict was in progress General Quitman was engaged in capturing the defences thrown over the causeways which led through a marsh—a lake in the days of Cortez—to the city. They were taken in succession; each one gave more or less resistance. At nightfall the Mexicans were driven within the city, and the Americans held two of its gates.

At midnight commissioners came with propositions of peace, and to surrender the city; they stated that Santa Anna was marching out with his army. General Scott refused to listen again to terms of accommodation; when his kindness of feeling had prompted him to offer them peace, he had been grossly deceived. The following morn-

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CHAP. ing, with six thousand men, he marched into the city,
LIV. drew up his army upon the great plaza, and hoisted the
1847. stars and stripes over the National Palace.
Sept. 14.

For several days the troops were occasionally fired upon from windows and the tops of houses; the work, it was said, of convicts, two thousand of whom had just been liberated; but stringent measures were taken to insure safety.

Santa Anna, with three or four thousand troops, had gone toward Puebla. He devolved his authority upon Peña y Peña, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice. The other prominent Mexicans went in different directions.

Colonel Childs had been left in command at Puebla with a small garrison, only five hundred men, to protect eighteen hundred sick and disabled American soldiers. The Mexicans, encouraged by false reports of success at the capital, made frequent desultory attacks upon the garrison, but by great exertions Colonel Childs held them at bay for nine days, when Santa Anna, with a remnant—some four or five thousand—of his discomfited army, appeared, and in a pompous manner summoned Childs to surrender. The summons was disregarded. The Mexican chief blockaded the town for seven days and then marched to intercept a train, on its way from Vera Cruz. General Lane was in command of this convoy—troops from Taylor's army, composed of Indiana and Ohio volunteers.

Santa Anna took position at Huamantla, a town some miles north of the main pass El Pinal, intending to attack the Americans when they should become entangled in the defile. But Lane was not thus to be entrapped. He at once set out, surprised Santa Anna himself, and compelled him, after some loss, to abandon the town. The train unmolested moved on the following day to Puebla, and the garrison, after a month's siege, was relieved.

Oct.
3.

Within ten days it was ascertained that Santa Anna was concentrating another force at Alixo. Lane, by a forced march, suddenly fell upon them, and dispersed them beyond recovery. Almost immediately after his failure to prevent the capture of the city of Mexico, Santa Anna resigned the presidency of the republic, but still retained his office as commander-in-chief of the Mexican armies. Now he was mortified to receive a note from Senor Rosa, the Minister of War, informing him that his services were no longer required by the government, which had just been inaugurated. He took the hint, and was soon on his way to the Gulf Coast, thence to the West Indies to be ere long again engaged in intrigues to disturb his unfortunate country.

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In a few weeks after the capture of the city of Mexico, the seat of government was removed to Queretaro. Soon after members for a new Congress were elected, and that body commenced its session. At the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo, commissioners and Mr. Trist were negotiating a treaty of peace. It was concluded on the 2d of February, and now it only remained to be ratified by the authorities at Washington to formally close the war, which, from the battle of Palo Alto to the capture of the city of Mexico, had lasted one year and five months.

1848.

May
9,
1846.

Sept.
14,
1847.

In this brief period, armies, of their own free will, had flocked to the standard of their country; had been organized, had marched into a foreign land, dissimilar to their own in climate and in feature, some across deserts and through districts infected with direful disease, others in mid-winter passed over untrodden mountains, covered with snow, and then in turn over arid plains, and met the enemy in conflict many hundreds of miles from their homes, while fleets were fitted out, which swept round Cape Horn, and were in time to perform their part. The rapidity with which cannon were manufactured and mu-

CHAP. nitions of war prepared and transported to the scene of
LIV. action, was astonishing.
1847.

During the time of the occupation of the city of Mexico, difficulties arose between some of the officers of the army. From misunderstandings hasty charges were made, and recriminations followed. Two of the officers, Pillow and Worth, made charges against the General-in-Chief, and he ordered them under arrest for insubordination. They appealed to the War Department, and made representations, in consequence of which the venerable commander, who had been a worthy leader from Lundy's Lane to Mexico, was superseded by an order from Washington, and the temporary command given to another. Subsequently the charges were virtually withdrawn, and they resumed their respective ranks. It is not expedient to go into detail; let the matter sink into oblivion. But never before—and may it never be again—in the history of the country, when its interests were so deeply involved, did the terms of "party," democrat or whig, of "friends" or "opponents" of the "administration," have so much influence.

Certainly, in truth it has been said, that those who served their country well in this war fared badly. Taylor, who was victorious from Palo Alto to Buena Vista, was quarrelled with; Scott, who marched triumphant from Vera Cruz to Mexico, was superseded; Fremont, who secured California, was court-martialled, and Trist, who made the treaty, which secured the objects of the war, was recalled and dismissed.

The war had been an unceasing source of disappointment to those whose measures brought it on. Santa Anna, who was to have been a harbinger of peace, had to be beaten from point to point, and not until he was finally driven from power did those of his countrymen, who were in favor of an amicable arrangement, dare to act.

When the commissioners, appointed by the President CHAP. LIV. to supersede Trist, arrived at Mexico, they found the 1848. treaty negotiated and signed by the parties. In substance it was the same that had been prepared by the Cabinet. When brought to Washington it was at once laid before the Senate, and after a short discussion ratified. The President by proclamation, on the 4th of July, 1848, made known to the nation that the war was at an end, and a satisfactory treaty had been concluded.

New Mexico and Upper California were ceded to the United States, and the lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to El Paso, was taken as the boundary of Texas. Mexico was to receive fifteen millions of dollars; the claims of American citizens against her—amounting to three and a quarter millions of dollars—were assumed by the United States. In a few months not an American soldier was on Mexican soil.

On the 4th of July, 1845, the annexation of Texas was consummated; and thus within three years a territory four times as large as France, had been added to the United States—regions hitherto imperfectly known, but having in store the elements of great wealth.

At the very time that the commissioners were negotiating the treaty, a laborer engaged at work upon a mill-race belonging to Captain Sutter, on one of the tributaries of the Sacramento river, noticed in the sand some shining particles. They proved to be gold. By the time the treaty was ratified rumors of the discovery reached the United States. The excitement produced was unprecedented. In a short time thousands were on their way to the land of gold. Every means of conveyance was called into requisition, from the emigrant's pack-horse and wagon, to the sailing-vessel and the steam-ship. Some went in caravans over the plains and the Rocky Mountains; some crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and found their way up the Pacific coast; others took ship and passed

CHAP. round Cape Horn. The sufferings of the great majority
 LIV. of these adventurers were intense; hundreds of them met
 1848. untimely deaths on the way, or by disease, privations, and
 improvidence, when they reached their journey's end.
 The ferment extended throughout the civilized world.
 Multitudes of gold-seekers were soon on their way from
 the different countries of Europe and South America, and
 even distant China sent her thousands. The tide of im-
 migration was directed to SAN FRANCISCO, which, from a
 miserable village of a few huts, soon became a city of fif-
 1882. teen thousand inhabitants, now to have about sixteen
 times that number, and to be the great entrepôt of the
 Pacific.

The influence of this discovery of gold mines, has been
 incalculable in its effects, not merely upon the United
 States, but has extended to other nations. "It touched
 the nerves of industry throughout the world," infused
 new life into commerce, and awakened a spirit of adven-
 ture and individual exertion never before known.

Feb. On the 21st of February, the venerable John Quincy
 21. Adams, when in his seat in the House of Representatives,
 was struck by paralysis. Two days later he expired. His
 last words were, "This is the last of earth:—I am con-
 tent." Born in revolutionary times: "The cradle hymns
 of the child were the songs of liberty." He had associated
 with the fathers of the republic, and was the representa-
 tive of the memories of that heroic age. For more than
 sixty years he had been constantly engaged in public
 affairs. At the age of fourteen, private secretary to
 Francis Dana, American minister to Russia; at twenty-
 seven appointed minister to Holland by Washington,
 who styled him "the ablest of all our diplomatic corps."
 Afterward successively, United States Senator; profes-
 sor in Harvard College; minister to Russia; one of the
 negotiators of the treaty of Ghent; Secretary of State
 under Monroe; President, and then member of the House

till his death, at the age of fourscore. Old in years but buoyant in spirit, he never lagged behind his age; but with careful eye watched the progress of his country, and sympathized with its youthful energies. CHAP.
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The administration of Mr. Polk was drawing to a close. Its great event had been the Mexican war, the train for which was laid under his predecessor. The tariff of 1842, under which the industry of the country had rapidly recovered from its prostration, after an existence of four years was so modified, as to afford less protection to American manufactures. 1846.

David Wilmot, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, introduced a proposition into Congress, since known as the "Wilmot Proviso," by which slavery should be prohibited in all territory obtained by treaty. The "Proviso" did not become a law, but the subject of slavery was once more brought up for discussion.

May
1.

The Democratic convention met at Baltimore to nominate a candidate for the office of President. Two sets of delegates appeared from New York, both claiming to be the true representatives of the Democracy of that State.

No compromise could reconcile the parties, and the convention solved the difficulty by excluding both from its deliberations. It then proceeded to nominate Senator Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

The delegates representing the Whig party, and those opposed to the measures of the administration, met at Philadelphia, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President.

June
1.

One portion of the Democracy of New York accepted the nominations of the Baltimore convention; another portion rejected them. The latter called a convention, at Buffalo of those who were opposed to the extension of

CHAP. slavery into free territory. They adopted a platform in
LIV. favor of "Free Soil," and nominated ex-president Van
1848. Buren for the Presidency and Charles Francis Adams
Aug. (son of John Quincy Adams) for the Vice-Presidency.

A spirited canvass followed, and the candidates of the Whig party were elected.

During the last year of this administration, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, and Minnesota organized as a Territory.

A new Department, that of the Interior, was created by Congress, to relieve the Secretary of the Treasury of part of his duties.

On the fifth of March, the fourth occurring on the Sabbath, the new President was inducted into office.

Mr. Polk, broken down in health, retired to his home in Nashville, Tennessee, where in a few months he was numbered with the dead. A man of exemplary character; he was lamented by the people.

June.

CHAPTER LV.

TAYLOR AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Discussion on Slavery.—Wilmot Proviso.—The Powers of the Constitution; their Application in the Territories.—Thirty-first Congress.—President's Message; its Recommendations.—Debate on the Omnibus Bill.—Death of Calhoun.—Death of President Taylor.—Fillmore Inaugurated.—The Fugitive Slave Law.—The Mormons; their Origin; Troubles; Settlement in Utah.—A Disunion Convention.—Lopez invades Cuba.—The Search for Sir John Franklin.—Dr. E. K. Kane.—Death of Henry Clay; of Daniel Webster.—The Tripartite Treaty.—Presidential Election.

GENERAL Zachary Taylor was a native of Virginia; but when he was very young, his father removed to Kentucky, and on the frontiers of that State he spent his youth as a farmer. At the age of twenty-four he received a commission in the army from President Jefferson, and entered upon a career more congenial to his tastes than cultivating the soil. For forty years he was in the military service of his country; his sphere of duty was on the frontiers; and thus situated he had never even voted at an election. Honest and frank, blest with common sense and firmness of purpose, he was withal unselfish and patriotic, and uncontaminated with political intrigues. His inaugural address on taking the office of President, was brief, and confined to a declaration of general principles. His cabinet, at the head of which was John M. Clayton of Delaware, was at once confirmed by the Senate.

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- The question of slavery had appeared under different phases. For twelve years after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, the subject had not been agitated in Congress, but now attention was drawn to it by the presentation of memorials, praying that body to abolish the slave-trade and slavery in the District of Columbia. Meantime others, who looked upon the system as an evil to be remedied at all hazards, sent through the mail to the South publications, addressed to the slave-owners themselves, and designed to influence them in favor of emancipation; but there were others who sent papers that contained engravings by no means calculated to make the slave contented with his lot. The fear was great lest the latter might become the occasion of insurrections and blood-shed. President Jackson recommended to Congress to pass a law prohibiting the use of the mail for the circulation of "incendiary publications." But the bill to that effect did not become a law. The excitement was great, both North and South: in the former sometimes developing itself in violent measures against the abolitionists; in the latter, some broke into the post-offices and destroyed the obnoxious papers, and others raised the cry of disunion, while, so embittered had the feeling become in Congress, that for a time memorials on the subject would not be received.

- Now the slavery agitation was a legacy left by the previous administration—a question which overshadowed all others, and almost exclusively engaged the attention of Congress and the nation. Three years before the Wilmot Proviso had initiated the discussion, which was fast acquiring a tone of bitterness hitherto unknown. The contents of the newspapers showed that the question had penetrated into every nook and corner of the land—in social circles and in the retirement of the fireside—all were alive to the importance of the subject at issue; the

emotions of a nation swayed in the storm of clashing opinions.

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The annexation of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, came to be looked upon as designed to further the interests of slavery, and to commit the nation to the policy of extending that system. Those opposed to such measures endeavored to counteract them by means of the Proviso, but that had failed to receive the sanction of Congress. With the exception of Texas proper, it was uncertain whether the newly-acquired territories would admit slavery; the indications were that they would reject it. And this feature of the controversy gave rise to another question; how to introduce the system into free territory. Would Congress subvert the law of Mexico, which had long since prohibited human bondage within her limits? That body never at any time had interfered with slavery as existing in the States, neither had it directly legislated it into free territory: the policy had rather been not to interfere with the inhabitants in deciding the question for themselves.

The last Congress, absorbed in the turmoil of the discussion, had dissolved without providing governments for the territories. To remedy this evil, President Taylor instructed the Federal officers in these territories to encourage the people to organize temporary government for themselves.

President Polk in his last message had recommended that the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, be extended to the Pacific, and thus leave the territory south of that line liable to be made slaveholding. Motions to that effect failed in Congress. That line had been adopted for the Louisiana territory alone, which was slave, and it made one side free, but if it was produced to the Pacific it would pass through free territory, and therefore make one side slave.

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The advocates of the system contended that they had a right to go into any of the territories and take with them their property, meaning slaves. That was admitted, but only under the laws of Congress, which so far protected such property, but it was denied that the slaveholder could carry with him the municipal law of the States from which he emigrated, any more than the emigrant from a free State could take with him its peculiar laws.

The same object was sought by attempting to "extend the constitution of the United States to the territories," and this under the form of an amendment attached to the general appropriation bill, providing a temporary government for the ceded territories, and extending to them certain acts of Congress. The proposition elicited a discussion in which Calhoun and Webster each took part. The former argued that the Constitution recognized slavery; that it was the supreme law of the land; therefore it was superior to every law in opposition to slavery, not only overriding any territorial law to that effect, but even superior to any law of Congress designed to abolish it; and that the property of the South, meaning Slaves, would thus be protected by the Constitution in the territories into which Calhoun openly avowed his intention to thus carry the institution of slavery. "The Constitution," said he, "pronounces itself to be the supreme law of the land;" the States as well as the Territories.

Mr. Webster replied that the Constitution was made for the States and not for the Territories; that Congress governed the latter independently of the Constitution, and often contrary to it, and was constantly doing things in the Territories that it could not do in the States; and that the Constitution could not operate of itself in the Territories. "When new territory has been acquired," said he, "it has always been subject to the laws of Con-

gress, to such laws as Congress thought proper to pass for its immediate government and preparatory state in which it was to remain until it was ready to come into the Union as one of the family of States." He quoted the Constitution itself, which declares that "it and the laws of Congress passed under it shall be the supreme law of the land." Thus it required a definite law of Congress to establish slavery in the Territories under the Constitution, as shown by the words of that instrument itself.

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1849.

The amendment failed in both houses; it became but the germ of another doctrine, that the Constitution of the United States, independently of an act of Congress, but in spite of it, not only goes of itself to the territories but carries with it a shield protecting slavery.

During this session of Congress meetings were held at Washington, attended by a majority of the members of Congress from the slave-holding States, to take into consideration the measures best adapted to secure southern rights.

They published an Address to the people of the South. It was drawn up by Calhoun, and by no means was it conciliatory in its tone and sentiments, and for that reason it failed to enlist in its favor all the delegates from the South. In truth it became a party measure. Only forty members, all from the slaveholding States, signed their names to the Address: of these, thirty-eight belonged to the Democratic party.

This manifesto was soon followed by a Southern Convention to dissolve the Union. The Legislatures of two of the States, South Carolina and Mississippi, issued a call for a "Southern Congress," to frame a government for a "United States South."

The agitation was not limited to the South; the North was as busily engaged in canvassing the exciting question, and both parties were summoning their energies for the conflict in the new Congress about to meet.

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1849.

Nov.
3.

The thirty-first Congress, called a month earlier than the usual time, met in its first session. Parties were nearly equally divided. The House spent three weeks, and balloted sixty times for a speaker, and only succeeded by changing the rule by which a majority of the whole is required to elect, to that of a plurality. Mr. C. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was elected; his competitor was Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

The first and only annual message of President Taylor was sent in. He saw the difficulties which lay in his path. The bitterness of party had been increased by sectional feelings. The President felt the responsibility of his position; but he fearlessly yet temperately gave his views, and plainly intimated that he should not shrink from his duty to the Union itself; deprecated sectional controversies, and referred to Washington in confirmation of this sentiment.

The points at issue were various, and he recommended a plan to settle each. As California, whose population had increased so rapidly, had framed a Constitution, he advised that she should be at once admitted into the Union; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized as territories, and when they were prepared to come into the Union as States, be permitted to decide the question of slavery for themselves; and that the dispute between Texas and New Mexico, in relation to their boundaries, should be settled by the judicial authority of the United States.

Early in the session Henry Clay moved in the Senate a series of resolutions designed to settle these disputes by a compromise. A committee of thirteen was appointed, to whom these resolutions and the various plans which had been proposed were referred. In due time Mr. Clay, as chairman, reported. The spirit of the resolutions was combined in one measure, which, from its character and the dissimilar objects it was designed to accomplish, was

styled the Omnibus Bill. It proposed the admission of California; the organization, without mention of slavery, of the territories of New Mexico and Utah; the arrangement of the Texas boundary, by paying the latter ten millions of dollars; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the enactment of a more stringent fugitive slave law.

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Senator Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, insisted that the bill was not equal in its provisions, because the South gained nothing by the measure; and he urged that the Missouri line of compromise should be extended to the Pacific, "with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the Territory below that line."

1850.

To this Clay replied, that "no earthly power could induce him to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not existed, either north or south of that line." "I am unwilling," continued he, "that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New Mexico should reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us." "If the citizens of those Territories come here with Constitutions establishing slavery, I am for admitting them into the Union; but then it will be their own work and not ours, and their posterity will have to reproach them and not us."

Calhoun, now near to death, in a speech read by a friend, urged that if the Union would be preserved, it must be by an equal number of slave and free States, to maintain the number of senators equal in the Senate.

"The incurability of the evil," said Senator Benton, of Missouri, "is the greatest objection." "It is a question of races, involving consequences which go to the destruction of one or the other; this was seen fifty years ago, and the wisdom of Virginia balked at it then. It seems to be above human reason. But there is a wisdom

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LV.

above human! and to that we must look. In the meantime do not extend the evil."

1849.

Soon after this occurred the death of John C. Calhoun. He first entered Congress in 1811, and during almost forty years had filled various offices in the service of his country. A man of primitive taste and simple manners, uniting the kindest of feelings with unflinching integrity. and devotion to duty. The latter portion of his public career was marked by the most strenuous advocacy of States' rights and Southern institutions.

Mar.
31.

July
9.

A few months later President Taylor was also numbered with the dead. He suddenly became ill with a violent fever, which terminated his life in a few days, after he had held office sixteen months. He had shown himself equal to the emergency; and his death was a public calamity indeed. Though elected by one party, his policy and acts were approved by all, and the whole nation mourned his loss.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The Vice-President, on the 10th of July, took the oath, and was inaugurated as President. It was done without show or parade; merely a joint committee of three from each House of Congress, and the members of the cabinet, attended him. The oath was administered by the venerable William Cranch, Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, who, appointed by John Adams, had held the office for fifty years. Not an unnecessary word was spoken; the ceremony was one of deep solemnity.

The first official act of Mr. Fillmore was to call upon Congress to take suitable measures for the funeral of the late President, "who had been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil author-

ity in the government." An impressive funeral service was performed, and eulogies pronounced upon him by many of the leading statesmen of the country. The Cabinet resigned, and the President nominated another, at the head of which was Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

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Four months had nearly elapsed since Henry Clay reported his Compromise Bill. Its provisions had been thoroughly discussed by the members of both Houses. It was then taken up article by article and passed—the last the Fugitive Slave law. The similar law which had been enacted in 1787, as part of the ordinance prohibiting slavery in the Territory north-west of the Ohio, and also a law to the same effect passed during Washington's administration, were thought to be defective, and a new one was framed.

Sept.
18.

1793.

The Supreme Court of the United States held the opinion that justices of the peace in the respective States, were not called upon to enforce the law for the rendition of slaves. Since the agitation of the slavery question in Congress, a dislike to enforcing that law had greatly increased in the free States. The feeling reached the Legislatures and some of them, by law, prohibited the use of their jails for the confinement of fugitive slaves, and the justices of the peace refused to act on the subject. To obviate the latter difficulty the present bill provided for the appointment of United States' commissioners, before whom such cases could be tried.

When the vote on the reception of California was taken, and she admitted to the Union, her senators, Wm. M. Gwin and John C. Fremont, who had been in waiting, immediately took their seats.

The vast region known as Utah, was in the possession of the Indians and the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, a religious sect. It was founded by Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, but at that time a resident of Central New

1827.

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1850. York; illiterate and superstitious, cunning and unprincipled; when a youth he loved to dupe his companions; at the age of fifteen he pretended that he had seen visions; and at twenty-two that he had received a direct revelation from heaven; that he had been directed to a certain hill, where he would find golden plates, covered with Egyptian characters, which he alone, as a prophet, was empowered to decipher. This was the famous "Book of Mormon." It professed to give a new system of religion, and to chronicle events which occurred on this continent long anterior to the Christian era.

It is said a man named Spaulding, when laboring under ill health wrote the story to alleviate his hours of ennui; after his death the manuscript fell into the hands of Smith, who unscrupulously used it to deceive his fellow-men.

1833. His system of polygamy led to gross immoralities; and the vicious, as well as the ignorant, some of whom may have been honest, became his disciples. In five years he had twelve hundred followers. At this time the whole sect removed to Jackson county, Missouri. As they professed to be the true saints, by virtue of which they were to become the inheritors of the western country, they became objects of distrust to the Missourians. The militia were called out, but the Mormons avoided a conflict by crossing the river to Illinois.

1840. They prepared to make that State their home. On a bluff, overlooking the Mississippi, they founded a city, Nauvoo, and erected an imposing temple. Thefts and robberies were numerous in the vicinity, and these crimes were attributed to the Mormons, some of whom were arrested. The saints, it was said, controlled the courts, for the prisoners were speedily liberated. An intense excitement was produced in the country by these proceedings. At length the Prophet himself, and a brother, were arrested and thrown into prison in the town of Carthage.

A mob collected a few days after, and in the melée the brothers were slain. The spirit aroused against them was so violent that the Mormons could find safety alone in flight, and the following year they sold their possessions, left their beautiful city, which contained ten thousand inhabitants, and under chosen elders emigrated away across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains, and finally found a resting place in the Great Basin. As they were now upon the soil of Mexico, they hoped their troubles were at an end. They significantly called their new home, Deseret—the land of the Honey Bee. To recruit their numbers they sent missionaries to every quarter of the globe; that these zealous apostles have met with astonishing success in obtaining proselytes, is a sad reflection.

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1844.

Meantime they labored with great zeal in founding a city on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. It is on ground four thousand three hundred feet above the level of the ocean, and planned on a large scale; its streets eight rods wide, and every house surrounded by a garden.

Presently came the war with Mexico, and the ceding of all that region to the United States. The Mormons were the first to organize themselves as a territory under the name of Deseret, but Congress saw proper to change the name to Utah. President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young, one of their elders, the first governor.

1850.

After the passage of the Compromise Bill, the agitation by no means ceased in the south. The design of seceding from the Union was openly avowed. A Disunion Convention met at Nashville, Tennessee. It invited the assembling of a "Southern Congress," but the legislatures of only two States responded to the call—South Carolina and Mississippi. The former elected their quota of representatives to the Congress. The great mass of the people were moved but little by these appeals, and the country

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breathed more freely in the confident belief that the vexed question was really at rest.

1850.

In no previous discussion of the subject did the great majority of the people of the Union manifest so much interest, not because it had become more important, but a great change had been wrought, since, thirty years before, the country was agitated by the discussions, which led to the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. The number of newspapers had increased at an unprecedented rate, and with them the facilities for publishing general intelligence and reporting the debates in Congress, and now was added the telegraph, which seemed almost to bring the ears of the nation to the Halls of Legislation. Yet in still greater proportion had the numbers of intelligent readers increased, millions of whom became familiar with the question and the principles involved, and watched with increasing interest every new phase the subject assumed. This may account for the earnestness which characterized this conflict of opinions; the mass of the people read and judged for themselves. The philanthropist may not dread the response of their hearts;—they may be slow to act, but they are untrammelled by pledges and uninfluenced by political aspirations.

About the commencement of Taylor's administration, General Lopez, a Spaniard, endeavored to create a revolution in Cuba. He represented that the people of that island were anxious and prepared to throw off the yoke of the mother country; and by this means he persuaded large numbers of adventurous spirits in the United States to engage in the enterprise. The pretext was to aid the Cubans; but the real object was to secure the annexation of the island to the United States. President Taylor promptly issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the Union to engage in the expedition. The warning was unheeded, and a company of six hundred men, under the

lead of Lopez, eluded the United States' authorities, and landed at Cardenas. But not meeting with sympathy from the people whom they professed to have come to liberate, they re-embarked, and sailed for Key West, Florida, barely escaping capture on the way by a Spanish steam-vessel of war.

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LV.

1850.
May
19.

The following year the attempt was renewed. A party of four hundred and eighty men landed on the island, but were almost immediately overpowered and captured. Lopez and a number of his deluded followers were put to death by the Spanish authorities at Havana.

In 1845, Sir John Franklin sailed from England in quest of the long sought for north-west passage. No tidings had ever been received from him, and the several efforts to send him aid had been unsuccessful. The sympathies of the humane were enlisted in behalf of the daring navigator. Mr. Henry Grinnell, a noble-hearted New York merchant, fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition which, under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, of the United States' navy, sailed for the Arctic regions in May, 1850. With De Haven went Dr. E. K. Kane, in the capacity of surgeon and naturalist. The search was unsuccessful, and the vessels returned.

The United States' Government now sent another expedition on the same errand of mercy in connection with Mr. Grinnell. The control of this was given to Dr Kane, whose scientific attainments were of a high order, and whose prudence and indomitable energy excited high hopes of the success of the enterprise. The search was fruitless; the results of the discoveries made have been embodied and given to the world. Sir John has no doubt long since perished, while his unknown friend, Dr. Kane, broken down in health because of his labors and privations, has also closed his life.

1851.

Two of our greatest statesmen, with whose names for a third or a century are associated some of the most

CHAP. important measures of the government, passed away.
 LV. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster: The one at Washing-
 1852. ton, the other at his home at Marshfield.

June
 28.
 Oct.
 24.

No two men were more endeared to the American people. Henry Clay, by his generous frankness and nobleness of character, won their love. Daniel Webster in his mighty intellect towered above his peers, and commanded their respect; of him they were proud.

Spain became alarmed at the attempts of lawless adventurers striving to wrest Cuba from her hands. France and England sympathized with her, and proposed to the United States to join with them in a "tripartite treaty," in which each should disclaim any intention of seizing upon that island, but, on the contrary, should guarantee its possession to Spain. A correspondence to this effect had already commenced, and to the proposal Edward Everett, who since the death of Webster was Secretary of State, replied in the negative. "The President," said he, "does not covet the acquisition of Cuba for the United States." Yet he "could not see with indifference that island fall into the possession of any other European Government than Spain." It was shown that this was a question peculiarly American, from the situation of the island itself; its proximity to our shores; its commanding the approach to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the entrance to the Mississippi, which with its tributaries forms the largest system of internal water-communication in the world, and also its ability to interfere with the passage to California by the Isthmus route. It was another statement of the celebrated Monroe doctrine, that the United States did not recognize European interference in questions purely American.

For President the Whigs nominated General Scott, and the Democrats, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.

The latter was elected, in connection with William R. King, of Alabama, as Vice-President. Mr. King had been United States' Senator from that State—with the exception of four years, when he was American minister at the court of France—since 1819; compelled by declining health he went to Cuba, where he took the oath of office. Then he returned home, not to enter upon the duties of the Vice-Presidency, but to die.

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LV.

1852.

To avoid the inconvenience of too great a number of members in the House of Representatives, as well as to prevent the waste of time in arranging the ratio of its members to the population, it was enacted that after the third of March, 1853, "The House of Representatives will consist of two hundred and thirty-three members, Provided, that after the apportionment of the Representatives, under the next or any subsequent census, a new State or States shall be admitted into the Union, the Representatives assigned to such new State shall be in addition to the number of Representatives herein limited, which excess over two hundred and thirty-three shall continue until the next succeeding census."

1850.

May
23.

Thereafter, when each "subsequent census" is officially known, the House determines by law the number of its own members "until the next succeeding census," and in proportion to that the number of its Representatives is assigned to each State. The Senate, in accordance with *Article I., Section 3*, of the Constitution, is divided into three classes, and when Senators are elected from a new State, first in order is the distribution of the times they are to serve into *long and short* terms. This is determined by lot, and ever after on the rolls of the Senate that distinction is preserved. A member of the House of Representatives serves two years, a President four, and a Senator six. This overlapping of terms is designed to secure deliberate legislation. The Representatives under the Census of 1900 number 386.

CHAPTER LVI.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Purchase of the Mesilla Valley.—Treaty with Japan.—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The effects of the Measure.—Emigrants to Kansas.—Struggles and Conflicts.—James Buchanan, President.—The Contest continues in Kansas.—National Progress.

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LVI.

1853. THE new President inaugurated on the 4th of March, was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin College, and by profession a lawyer. He had served in the legislature of his native State, two terms in the House of Representatives at Washington and nearly a term in the Senate of the United States. William L. Marcy, of New York, was appointed Secretary of State.

Jan.
8.

Owing to the incorrectness of the maps used when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was made, a dispute arose as to the proper boundaries between New Mexico and the Mexican province of Chihuahua. Both parties claimed the Mesilla Valley, said to be fertile, but more important for affording facilities for a road to California. Santa Anna, who was again President of the republic of Mexico, and intent, as usual, on driving a bargain, took possession of the territory in dispute. The United States obtained the valley, and the free navigation of the Gulf of California and of the river Colorado, to the American boundary by paying the Mexican government ten millions of dollars.

The acquisition of California made the importance of commercial treaties with the nations of eastern Asia more and more apparent. During Fillmore's term, Commodore Perry, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, was sent with a squadron to open communication with the empire of Japan. The inhabitants of those islands from time immemorial had excluded foreigners. The authorities were greatly astonished at the boldness of the Commodore, when he appeared with his steamers—the first that ever floated on those waters—in the Bay of Jeddo. He was ordered to depart; but he declined and insisted on seeing the proper authorities, and making known to them the object of his friendly visit. At length a Japanese officer appeared, who promised to lay the matter before the emperor. The 14th of July was the day named to receive the letter from the President.

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1853.

The Commodore, escorted by a company of marines, landed. He was received with the pomp of an oriental pageant, and an answer to the letter promised the following spring. The answer was received and a treaty concluded. The merchants of the United States obtained permission to trade in two specified ports—Simodi and Hakodadi—and also for the residence of American citizens and consuls at the ports, as well as to visit without molestation in the interior, ten or twelve miles.

April.

The measure that will render the administration of Pierce famous, was the bill to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. This was an immense region—extending from the confines of Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and from thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, to the British possessions. This vast territory was a part of the Louisiana Purchase, from which, by the Missouri Compromise, the system of slavery had been excluded.

In part this region had been assigned to the various

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1853.

tribes of Indians, who years before, to make way for settlers, had removed from their lands north-west of the Ohio. The white settlers who had gone to that region wished that the Indian titles should be extinguished, and a territorial government established.

Jan.,
1854.

In accordance with this wish Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, proposed a bill in the United States' Senate, to organize this region into two territories, to be known as Kansas and Nebraska. This bill contained a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise, under the plea that it "was inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850;" "it being the true intent of the act to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The people were taken by surprise. The question, so destructive to national harmony, and which it was hoped had been settled forever, had assumed a new form. The Missouri Compromise had been deemed a sacred compact between the south and the north, and as such, for the third of a century, had received the sanction of all parties. The irritations caused by the fiery discussions in Congress four years previous were by no means yet healed. A deep-toned feeling was excited, especially in the northern States.

It was just fifty years since the purchase of the territory, and up to this time nearly all its benefits had been enjoyed by those who held slaves. Meantime emigrants from the free States had been compelled, from their unwillingness to come in contact with slavery, to seek their homes and farms north of Missouri, and forego the advantages of the genial climate found in the latitude of that State.

These free laborers, as well as those who intended to

seek homes in the west, complained that this region, guaranteed to them by the Missouri Compromise, should be rendered liable to be made slaveholding. Conventions were held and petitions poured into both Houses of Congress, imploring those bodies not to disturb the tranquillity of the country, nor violate the compact so long held sacred. The South did not participate so much in this feeling.

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1854.

In reply to these remonstrances it was said, the principle of "Squatter or Popular Sovereignty," would obviate all difficulty; by this principle the people of the territory would be free in their political action, and when they came to form their state constitutions, and ask admission into the Union, they could exercise this right and adopt or reject slavery. With this interpretation the bill passed Congress, after nearly four months' discussion, was signed by the President, and became the law of the land.

May.

Now came the struggle to secure the new State by sending emigrants, whose votes were to decide the question. Two years before, and not with reference to a contingency of this kind, the Legislature of Massachusetts incorporated a company known as "The Emigrants' Aid Society." This association had been inactive, but now its aid was invoked, and numbers were assisted to emigrate to Kansas. Similar societies were formed in other northern States. The emigrants from the free States went to remain and improve their claims, and found homes for their families. Emigrants came also from the Southern States, but with the exception of those who came from Missouri only a limited number have remained in the territory to improve their claims.

Conflicting opinions soon produced political parties known as Pro-Slavery and Free-State, and the practical application of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" was

CHAP. appealed to, to test which party had the majority, and
LVI. according to true democracy should rule.

1854. The first territorial election was held to choose a dele-
Nov. gate to Congress, and four months later—a census in the
Mar., meantime having been taken and the territory divided
1855. into districts—another election was held to choose mem-
bers to the Territorial Legislature. In both of these elec-
tions, the pro-slavery party claimed that they had chosen
their candidates, but the free-state men repudiated the
election as fraudulent; giving as a reason that the polls
were controlled by armed men from Missouri.

The Territorial Legislature assembled at Pawnee and
July immediately adjourned to the Shawnee Mission, near the
2. Missouri State line. They passed a series of laws, to
which Governor Reeder refused his signature, on the
ground that the Legislature, by the organic act, could not
change the place of meeting appointed by himself. These
laws were however passed by a two-thirds vote.

The Free State men held conventions, denied the le-
gality of the legislature, and refused to obey the laws en-
acted by it, and made arrangements to choose delegates
to a Convention to form a Constitution. In due time this
Oct. Convention assembled at Topeka, framed a Constitution
rejecting slavery, and ordered it to be submitted to the
vote of the people, who ratified it. One month later the
people chose State officers and members for a State Legis-
lature. Soon after Governor Reeder was removed from
his office by the President.

Jan. During these ten months confusion reigned in the
15. Territory. Outrages of almost every kind were com-
mitted, robberies, murders, illegal arrests and property
destroyed, most of which belonged to the Free State
settlers.

Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, who had recently been ap-
pointed Governor, now appeared and assumed office. He

declared himself in favor of the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission.

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The government, under the Free-State Constitution, was organized, and the contest took the form of civil war.

1855.

Mar.
4.

At the opening of the session of Congress, the delegate from Kansas, chosen as related above, appeared and demanded his seat. After a spicy discussion the House refused the demand, but appointed a committee to proceed to the Territory and summon witnesses in relation to the recent elections. In a month's time the committee had arrived in Kansas, and commenced the investigation. Their report sustained the charge that those elections had been carried by fraud.

Dec.,
1855.

Mar.
19.

The summer of 1856 was signalized by the commission of many outrages, committed in different parts of the Territory. The Free-State men armed themselves, and determined to defend their rights. Several conflicts ensued and many lives were lost. Presently Shannon received notice of his removal from office, and John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, soon appeared as his successor. The new governor honestly labored to restore harmony. He ordered "all bodies of men combined, armed, and equipped with munitions of war, without authority of the government, instantly to disband, and quit the territory." Upon this the companies of Free-State men nearly all disbanded, but it was only partially obeyed by the other party, who had concentrated a force of more than two thousand men. The Governor, with the dragoons, threw himself between them and the town of Lawrence and prevented another conflict.

Sept.
15.

The presidential canvass was now in progress. The main question at issue—the extension of slavery into the Territories or its limitation to the States wherein it already existed.

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LVI.

1853.

Within a few years political issues had somewhat changed. A party known as American, had arisen; their main principle opposition to foreign influence, and their motto, "Americans should rule America." The following year they were successful in most of the state elections. Meantime arose another party, composed principally of Whigs and Democrats, who were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory. They were known as Republicans. On the other hand the Democrats announced themselves willing to let slavery go into the territories if the inhabitants thereof desired it. The latter party nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; the Republicans, John C. Fremont, of California, and the Americans, ex-president Fillmore.

The canvass was one of more than usual spirit. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had even added new interest to the main question at issue. It had taken deep hold of the minds of the people; and they never before gave such evidence of their independence, and repudiation of mere party ties.

Nov.,
1856.

Mr. Buchanan was elected President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, Vice-President.

Feb.
17,
1858.

The House of Representatives at Washington passed a bill, declaring the acts of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas null and void, both on the ground that its enactments "were cruel and oppressive," and that "the said legislature was not elected by the legal voters of Kansas, but was forced upon them by non-residents in violation of the organic act of the territory." This bill failed to pass the Senate.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President. He was educated for the legal profession. At the age of twenty-three he served as a member of the Legislature of his native State. He was afterward a

member of the House of Representatives ten years; then Minister to Russia—sent by General Jackson—then a member of the Senate of the United States; then Secretary of State, under President Polk, and then Minister to Great Britain. Senator Lewis Cass was appointed Secretary of State, by the new President.

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1857.

Under the auspices of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas an election was ordered for delegates to a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, but under conditions to secure a pro-slavery majority of delegates. The Free State men, for the reasons already given, as well as others, refused to take part in the election. It was held, however, and a pro-slavery delegation chosen. Meanwhile the other party published an address to the people of the United States, in which they set forth the wrongs they had endured, and to which they were still subject.

June.

Soon after Governor Geary resigned, and the President appointed Robt. J. Walker, of Mississippi. The new Governor endeavored to remedy these evils, and promised the people of the territory a free expression of their wishes at the polls.

Owing to the influence of Governor Walker the Free State men consented to vote at the coming election for a delegate to Congress, and members for a Territorial Legislature. They, by a vote of more than two to one, chose their candidates.

Oct.

Shortly after this election, the delegates chosen as we have seen, met in convention at Lecompton, and speedily framed a constitution. It contained a provision adopting slavery, and this provision alone, the convention submitted to the people of Kansas to ratify or reject. Connected with this was a clause which made it necessary for those who were challenged at the polls "to take an oath to support the constitution if adopted," before they were

CHAP. permitted to deposit their vote. This was followed by a
LVI. proviso that the Constitution could not be amended be-
1857. fore the year 1864, and then only by the concurrence of
two-thirds of the members of both Houses of the Legisla-
ture and "a majority of all the citizens of the State."

The Free State men refused to vote on the ratification of this constitution, as they denied the authority that framed it; but it received some votes, and was declared adopted, and sent as such to Congress. There the discussion on the subject was as bitter as ever. It was denied that the people of Kansas were fairly treated in not having the opportunity to vote upon the adoption of the entire constitution as implied by the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," said to be the essence of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

April
30.

Finally, a bill was passed to submit the constitution to the people of Kansas, but on two conditions: one, that if they failed to ratify it, they would not be permitted to enter the Union until they had a population of ninety-three thousand; the other, if they did ratify it, they should receive certain of the public lands for State purposes. In the face of these strange conditions the people of Kansas, on the 2d of August, rejected the constitution by an overwhelming majority.

1858.

After this decided and noble stand by the Free State men in Kansas there was a lull in the excitement. Meanwhile the people were preparing for the territory to assume her place among the States of the Union when the whole nation was startled by an effort to free the slaves by force of arms. The plan was organized and attempted to be carried out by John Brown—better known as "Old John Brown of Osawatimie," at which place he lived, and who, in the Kansas troubles, had beaten off an armed force of the pro-slavery party five times as great as his own, the former having an unusual number of men killed and wounded.

1859,
Oct.

This singular, conscientious, determined man, who under no circumstances ever swerved from what he thought was right, was a native of Connecticut, and descended from Peter Brown, a humble Pilgrim on the Mayflower. Religiously trained, he became a church-member at the age of sixteen; thoughtful for his years, at twelve he found himself an instinctive hater of slavery from seeing his friend, a colored boy about his own age, grossly abused without redress. This hatred of the system was never modified, but grew intenser with his years. At the time of which we speak he was a resident of New York State. When he learned of the efforts to force the system of bondage on the territory of Kansas he hastened thither, where he already had four sons, and three others who soon after followed their father. There in his peculiar way he became a leader among the Free State men in their conflicts with their enemies from across the boundary line of the territory and Missouri. In one of these battles beside him lay a son just killed, while the father in one hand held the pulse of another mortally wounded, and in the other grasped a rifle. Some time before another son had been murdered. With only twenty-one men he seized the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in northern Virginia. He may have supposed the slaves would avail themselves of an opportunity to fight for their freedom, but none joined him. They always looked for some outside¹ influence to secure their emancipation. John Brown is represented as being kind and sympathetic, and his heart was moved as he contemplated the system of bondage under which the slaves moaned. He thought himself in the line of duty, and while we may respect his motives we cannot his prudence. The explanation may be that he brooded so long over the wrongs suffered by the slaves that he became

CHAP.
LVI.
1850.

Oct.
16.

¹ Hist., p. 902.

CHAP. partially crazed on the subject, and overlooked the insu-
 LVI. perable difficulties in carrying out *his* plan for their
 1859. emancipation. In the conflict which ensued with the
 State authorities, who were aided by United States ma-
 rines, he was wounded and captured, after a severe strug-
 gle, in which thirteen of his party were killed—two of
 them his sons—six were made prisoners, and two escaped.
 During his trial he lay on his couch in the court-room.
 He met death in a calm and heroic manner.

This was the only instance in which an Abolitionist,
 as such, attempted to secure the freedom of the slaves by
 means of violence.

Three days after the execution of Brown, Congress
 assembled, and during its session was laid before it a
 constitution voted upon and approved by the people of
 1860, Kansas. A bill admitting the State passed the House,
 June 7.
 7. but failed in the Senate.

A treaty having been made with Japan that govern-
 1858. ment sent, in the summer of 1860, a number of officials
 to bring it when ratified to the United States. This im-
 posing embassy consisted in all of seventy-one persons of
 various ranks. They were received and treated as the
 guests of the Nation, and in consequence of this treaty
 important commercial relations have since existed between
 the United States and that empire.

Minnesota was admitted into the Union, and allowed
 to have two representatives until the next apportionment
 of members among the several States.

A change was made in the laws in relation to the
 issue of patents, by which "all patents hereafter granted
 shall remain in force seventeen years from date of issue,
 and all extensions of such patents are hereby prohibited."

1860. The Eighth Census of the United States sums up as
 follows: Entire population, 31,443,790; of whom 3,953,-
 529 are slaves.

The question of the extension of slavery into the Territories, was by no means decided in the presidential contest of 1856. During the subsequent four years the discussion of the subject still continued in Congress and among the people. In proportion as they read and judged for themselves, did party spirit lose its despotic influences, and the change in public sentiment, especially in the non-slaveholding States, was unprecedented. Many thousands of intelligent voters, who once acquiesced in the policy of the extension of the system, would no longer lend their sanction to measures the tendency of which they now better understood.

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LVI.

1860.

In view of subsequent events, a more than usual interest will ever belong to the exposition of principles as set forth in what are termed "platforms" of the parties in nominating their respective candidates for the office of President in 1860.

The Democratic party, at a convention held in Charleston, South Carolina, became divided into two hostile sections—the Breckinridge and Douglas—thus designated from their prominent leaders. One section—the Breckinridge—reaffirmed, with explanatory resolutions, the principles adopted by the entire party four years before at its convention held in Cincinnati. They proclaimed the "non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia," and "The admission of new States with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect." The other section—Douglas—also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and likewise affirmed "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories," "That the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme

1856.

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1860. Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law." These resolutions are significant. That court had recently given an opinion known as the Dred Scott Decision, which was now assumed to sanction the doctrine, first announced by John C. Calhoun, that the Constitution recognized slavery, and sanctioned and protected it in the Territories.¹ On the contrary, the Republican party denied that this special decision of the court had a legitimate bearing on the subject, it being a side issue, and therefore null and void; and now, since other means had failed in Kansas, used only to introduce covertly the system of human bondage into the Territories. The latter party, at their convention held in Chicago, announced that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions." "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" and "That the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved;" also the rights of the States should be maintained inviolate, "especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively." "That the normal condition of all the Territory of the United States is that of FREEDOM," and they denied "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

Still another party, heretofore mainly known as American, now adopted the designation of "Constitutional Union," and proclaimed as their platform, "The Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

¹ See Hist., pp. 332, 333.

CHAPTER LVII.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Traits of Character, North and South.—Comparative Intelligence in the Free and Slave States.—Benevolent Operations.—Foreign Population.—Material Progress.—Compromises.—Republican Party.—Democratic Convention.—Presidential Election.—Intent of Personal Liberty bills.—Union Men.—The Corner-Stone.—Legislatures and Conventions South.—Non-coercion.—Feeling in the Border States.—Finances.—Buchanan's Message.—Fort Sumter Occupied by Anderson.—The Preparations.—Yulee's Letter.—No Vote of the People Allowed.—Mr. Lincoln's Journey.—Convention at Montgomery.—Fallacies —England and Cotton.

BEFORE entering upon the narrative of the great Rebellion, and to fully understand its cause, we must notice certain influences that have had a share in moulding the characteristics of the American people both North and South. Though the people of both sections take pride in the same ancestry and cling to the same traditions, cherish the same love of country and have the same belief in Christianity, yet certain influences during a period of two centuries produced slightly marked characteristics. The Southern colonists, especially of Virginia and the Carolinas, had their notions of rank and aristocracy, and prejudices against the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons who settled in the Northern portion of the land. The Northern colonists had their prejudices, which grew out of religious differences in the mother country. The seven years' struggle of the Revolution brought the people nearer together by a bond of sympathy. The Northern colonists had a better appreciation

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1857.

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1857.

of education, and they labored to extend its influence to all, beginning at the most humble, thus elevating the people by making them intelligent and moral; and for this purpose they established common schools.¹ As labor with them was respected, so voluntary ignorance was despised, while that which was involuntary was pitied, and an effort made to remove the evil. Massachusetts and the other colonies of New England were in this respect in contrast with Virginia and the Carolinas: the latter made scarcely an effort to instruct the children of the people at large, providing no general system of common-school education.² In these colonies—afterward in the States—the people of limited means were non-slaveholders, and when they aspired to a higher rank in the social scale they found themselves confronted with this fact. Thus trammelled they made little advancement, and in the course of time this contemptuous treatment on the part of the aristocracy frittered away much of the self-respect of that class of the community. This was specially the case during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. The laws prohibiting slaves learning to read and write were most stringent, and persons who should teach them were liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment, while “a code of slave laws, the most wicked that the world has ever seen, guaranteed the subjection of the victims.”³

Just about one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, when free schools had been established for a generation in the New England colonies, a Governor of Virginia—Berkeley—in an apparently devout frame of mind, when speaking of the colony, wrote: “I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we will not have them these hundred years—God keep us from both.”⁴ His “hope” was virtually realized; as

¹ Hist., pp. 123, 124

Mackenzie's Nineteenth Century, p. 75.

² Hist., p. 235.

³ Hist., pp. 138-142.

it was more than half a century after that before a printing press was at work in Virginia, and common schools waited nearly two centuries for their admission.

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1860.

Time has shown the effects of these two systems, so radically different, because the habits, the customs, and even the prejudices of the colonists passed over into the States, and though softened and modified in the transition, lasted long after the Revolution. For sake of convenience we compare New England and Virginia—they two being the most influential before that time and immediately afterward. In making a comparison we pass over about six generations to see more perfectly the results of the two systems of education. The one originating in Massachusetts was radical, commencing at the bottom and educating upward; the other in Virginia commenced at the highest rank in society and educated downward—but *never reached the bottom.*

Let us look at the census of the United States for 1860. It shows that the six New England States had a population of 3,135,383, lacking only 180,796 of being three times as large as that of the white inhabitants of Virginia—1,105,453. In New England we find of this population 81,576 persons, native-born, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and also of foreigners 75,554 of the same age, who were in a similar condition; thus about *fifteen-sixteenths* of this illiteracy belonged to foreigners, a large immigration of whom had been pouring into these States for *forty* years. For the most part, these people paid little or no attention to the education of their children. No doubt a very large proportion of these illiterates, though *native-born*, were the immediate descendants of these immigrants. We now turn to Virginia, and there we find 74,055 white native-born persons, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and of foreigners 3,152—that is, about *one-twenty-fourth* part.

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In New England we find that of persons over twenty years of age only *one* of the native-born in *thirty-eight* and *four-tenths* was unable to read and write, while in Virginia of the same class there was *one* in *fifteen*. Of the illiterates in the former about *fifteen-sixteenths* were foreigners; in the latter they were about *one in twenty-four*. Of the entire population of the free States of the Old Thirteen we find *one in thirty-eight* unable to read and write; of whites in the corresponding slave States, *one in fifteen*. Of the illiterates of the former States *eleven-fourteenths* were foreigners, and in the corresponding latter States they were *one in twenty-two*. In the free States admitted after the Revolution we find *one* illiterate in *thirty-three* of the population; of the whites in the corresponding slave States, *one in sixteen*; in the former *one-third* of this class were foreigners, in the latter *one-fourteenth*.

Under such influences it was not strange that so many of the *white* inhabitants of the slave States were not readers, much less thinkers. Had the mass been a reading people, and in consequence reasoners, with books and newspapers in every household, they never could have been induced, much less forced, into an attempt to destroy the Union in order to perpetuate slavery, and surely not in support of a *theoretical* interpretation of the constitution in respect to State Rights. The great majority of those migrating from the old to the new States or Territories, in order to secure a climate to which they were accustomed, passed almost entirely along the same parallels of latitude on which they had lived, and as they carried with them their institutions and habits, the contrast in respect to education and its results, as revealed by the census of 1860, was equally great between the new free and slave States as that between the Old Thirteen. Had common schools been as well supported and attended, even by the *whites*, in the slave as in the free States for

the last century, it is doubtful whether the system of slavery could have reached its vast proportions, and more likely it might so far have passed away as not to be a disturbing element in the nation, much less that for its protection and extension a war should be inaugurated.

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The general intelligence of the Northern portion of the country affected its material progress; the people of moderate means were self-respecting and industrious, and their material progress was continuous from generation to generation. In the Southern portion the people of moderate means unfortunately labored under great disadvantages. They were for the most part wanting in that general intelligence needed to secure success, and were stigmatized as the "white trash." With them industry was an irksome necessity, since they looked upon manual labor as the special province of the slave, and therefore degrading. The dignity of the intelligent farmer or mechanic, who read books, educated his children and obtained knowledge of passing events by reading the newspapers, was almost unknown to them. This was their great misfortune; the result of a disregard of their interests and their children's practiced for generations by their rulers.

For many years previous to the outbreak of the rebellion Northern newspapers not pleasing to certain leaders were virtually prohibited in the South, and by this means it was easy to deceive the non-slaveowners in respect to the true sentiments of the Northern people. In its influence upon society the system of slavery recognized but two classes: those who owned slaves and those who did not. The former claimed to be the aristocracy, and in their hands were the offices of state. Even wealth invested in lands and slaves gave the possessor a higher social position than the same amount acquired by the industry of the merchant or any other occupation.

The mass of the Southern people were grossly deceived by those who represented the people of the North as hostile to them; on the contrary, the sympathies of the Christian

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1857. public of the free States had been unusually drawn out toward their fellow-citizens of the South. They appreciated the difficulties under which they labored in respect to religious privileges; how they had never been trained, but to a very limited extent, either to support schools or the preaching of the Gospel. Benevolent societies (such as the American Tract, Home Missionary, Sunday School Union and others) labored for years to diffuse religious truths among the mass of the Southern people, especially the whites of moderate means, up to the time when their efforts were materially interfered with by political leaders who wished the relations of friendship and intercourse with the North to cease, as an aid to the accomplishment of their secret plan to break up the Union. Without going into details, these leaders assumed that the intercourse between the two sections by means of these operations did or would interfere with slavery, and their benevolent work was gradually restrained to such an extent that when the rebellion began it had nearly ceased, although, owing to intimate commercial relations, the merchants of Northern cities were more than usually liberal in aiding the benevolent and religious institutions of the South. Many other efforts were made to alienate the Southern people from the Northern; parents were urged not to send their daughters to schools or their sons to colleges in the free States; the separation of religious denominations into Southern or Northern was looked upon with pleasure by these leaders; as well as the alienation of churches of the same denomination. Only one denomination—the Methodist—divided on account of slavery alone; in accordance with the Discipline of that church a bishop has jurisdiction in all the States equally, and in this instance a slave-holding bishop became the occasion of the division of the denomination into the Churches North and South. Likewise, owing to the absence of a national system of finances, the moneyed interests of the country had not so great inducement to unite in preserving the Union as they would have had under a banking
- 1844.

system by means of which the rate of exchange in commercial transactions between different portions of the Union would have been merely nominal. At the commencement of the rebellion, and for years previous, the high rate of exchange through the medium of State banks was a heavy tax on the mercantile interests of the whole country.

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Previous to 1826 the system of slavery was acknowledged to be contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and among thoughtful business men or planters it was recognized as a wasteful system of labor. When a Northern member proclaimed on the floor of the House of Representatives that slavery, "while it subsists where it subsists, its duties are presupposed and sanctioned by religion," the sentiment was repudiated by the leading Southern statesmen. John Randolph, in one of his pungent remarks, exclaimed: "Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises to defend slavery upon principle." In the discussions held hitherto the subject had been treated almost entirely in respect to its political and economical bearings, its moral character being for the most part assumed. Its unwritten, inner history, as a moral evil in domestic relations, was infinitely worse than that of its economical; as in this form it permeated society and poisoned it at the fountain-head—the family.

Mar. 9,
1826.

After the failure of Nullification the form of the discussion changed from the economical more to the moral aspects of slavery, which now found advocates who contended that the system was not inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible. In opposition to this the Abolitionists took a decided stand. The pioneer in this movement was Benjamin Lundy, who was soon joined by William Lloyd Garrison; the former dying, the latter continued with untiring zeal the conflict till the end was attained. Their efforts, feeble at first, were made by

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to
1863.

CHAP. means of newspapers and periodicals of quite limited cir-
 LVII. culation; to these were added lectures or speeches, and
 1828 the formation of anti-slavery societies throughout the
 to
 1863. free States: and this continued for a generation.¹

The Abolitionists made appeals to the slaveholders themselves to take the initiative in emancipating their slaves, and in recognizing on the score of humanity the inalienable rights of the negro as a man, and the sinfulness of holding him in bondage. Their leading members were specially careful to violate no law, but labor for the accomplishment of their object only by the presentation of the truth as they believed it; they used only moral means to secure their end, with but one exception—that of John Brown. They had themselves so clear conceptions of their own duty in the premises that they became indignant at the slowness of the conservatives in the church, who were unwilling to aid emancipation in the way marked out by these enthusiastic and self-appointed leaders. Nor is it remarkable that the prejudices of the former were roused by the abuse they received, and by the infidelity avowed by many of the Abolitionists. The latter were intensely earnest; they believed every word they said. Their startling invectives and fiery eloquence rang throughout the land like the tolling of a midnight tocsin. Their arguments compelled acquiescence in the unconscious hearer; the well-put truths they uttered sank deep into the minds of the people, like seed in a fertile soil, to be vivified and brought into life under other conditions.²

The slaveholders demanded acquiescence on the part of Northern merchants in the laws of Congress designed to return fugitive slaves, and to protect the system and further its interests—no others would they patronize. Competition in business in the Southern trade at the

¹ Hist. pp. 830, 835.

² Hist. pp. 885, 886.

time was not so much in cheapening goods as in length-
 ening credits. If a publisher issued a book or a periodi-
 cal in which were criticisms adverse to the system, even
 by implication, the newspapers of the South warned their
 readers against buying any books *whatever* of the of-
 fender. These demands, with others of a political char-
 acter, prepared the reading people of the free States to
 take their stand when the crisis came. It was not till
 the deliberate firing on Sumter revealed its true spirit
 that the mass of intelligent people in the North recog-
 nized fully its deadly hostility to right and justice. This
 truth, like an intuition, flashed in their minds and con-
 science, and at once increased the number of its enemies
 a hundred-fold. Though the great majority of the peo-
 ple believed the system to be a moral, political and
 economical evil, they were perplexed as to the remedies
 to be applied in its removal. It was the farthest from
 their intentions that it should be removed by the horrors
 of war. They thought of no other means than moral,
 and certainly not by infringing the right of the slave-
 owner as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws
 made under it. They hoped that the humane spirit of
 Christianity would finally abolish the system; but in
 truth the enactments of laws on the subject in the slave
 States were becoming harsher and harsher every year.
 It remained for the slaveowners to place themselves in a
 position which rid the country of the evil.

Another ground of dissatisfaction was the progress of
 the free States in material wealth and population. From
 about 1825 there had been a large emigration from the Old
 World, chiefly from Ireland, and mostly unskilled laborers;
 nearly all these settled in the free States, where they found
 employment principally in digging canals and building
 railroads. Scarcely any of these made their home in the
 States where slavery existed, because of the stigma resting

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upon manual labor, and also of the lack of enterprise in that section to furnish them employment. Meanwhile the intelligence and industry of the free States were carrying them far in advance in the enterprises of mining, manufacturing and commerce. They had taken possession of the region north of the Ohio and east of the Great River, and of the northwest. These plains were covered with farms, and immense crops were harvested by means of machinery requiring not one eighth as many laborers as under the old system—the sickle and the scythe. An outlet had been obtained for their grains to Europe, almost a rival of cotton as an article of commerce. Thus the progress of the free States, as revealed every ten years by the census, was unparalleled; and in consequence of the increase of inhabitants they had in the same ratio increased their number of members in the House of Representatives. Though in 1860 the slaves had *twenty* representatives in the House, and these elected by their owners, yet the majority of the members from the free States was overwhelming, and could never be overcome, but was increasing from census to census, while the equality of members in the Senate was gone forever. The leaders foreseeing this result—the termination of their power to rule the National Government—determined to change their tactics in order to secure their ends.

In accordance with the sentiment held by the people of the free States of non-interference with slavery in the States where it existed, Congress in no instance ever passed a law that was intended to thus interfere; while the Territories, the common property of the whole Union, were governed under the Constitution by Congress alone, by means of laws of its own enactment, and by officers legally appointed by the President. The disposal of these Territories was thus given to Congress as the common property of the nation, under the control of the representatives of the whole people; and, as in other cases, in accordance with the cardinal principle of the National

Government, that the majority should rule. Hitherto, when differences of opinion or policy occurred, the difficulties were arranged by compromises. Such was the case in the famous Missouri Compromise.¹ And in the days of South Carolina nullification by a compromise in respect to the tariff.² In the annexation of Texas, a Territory more than five times as great as that of New York or Pennsylvania, the same spirit prevailed; and that Territory was handed over to the slaveholders for their exclusive benefit, though it had cost thousands of precious lives in the war which ensued with Mexico, and an immense amount of national treasure. This concession was made by the free States, when every intelligent person knew that the profit would inure to the slave States alone, and to the extension of their system of enforced labor. The acquisition of California was not then in contemplation, and this concession was an exhibition of good will by the North toward the South. The population of Texas, though its territory was so extensive, would only entitle her to come into the Union as a *single* State, and not *five*, into which it could be divided in accordance with the articles of annexation.³ But California, owing to peculiar circumstances, soon acquired the requisite population to make a State, and was admitted into the Union; her people by their vote prohibiting slavery, preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave States in the United States Senate. With this result the advocates of slavery were not satisfied, and they resolved to make another attempt to secure the coveted majority. The plan now adopted was to repeal the Missouri Compromise,⁴ which had remained intact for *thirty-four* years, and secure for their purpose the region west of that State. This repeal raised the question, especially in the free States, Will the advocates of slavery never be satisfied? Are the politicians, for personal ambition, to keep the

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¹ Hist. pp. 692-695.

² Hist. pp. 748-749.

³ Hist. pp. 723-726.

⁴ Hist. pp. 846-847 and 851.

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nation continually embroiled in this question? It was only about ten years since Texas had been yielded to the slave owners—and yet the cry was for more territory!

The people of the free States, as they could not restore the “Missouri Compromise,” were forced to accept the “squatter sovereignty” theory, and they put it in practice by sending settlers to Kansas Territory who intended to make it their home and that of their children; and, complying with the law in word and in spirit, when the time came they voted to come into the Union a *free State*.¹ These various measures to extend the system of servitude into the Territories excited an unusual resistance in the free States, and a party was formed—the Republican—to prevent by legal means that result. The pledges of the new party were not to interfere with the institution in the States, but only treat it, in respect to the Territories, as Congress had been accustomed to treat other questions, subject to the will of the majority, in accordance with the received notions of the true rule of the people. And in good faith the free States accepted the principle that the inhabitants of a Territory about to become a State might determine for themselves whether it should come in free or slave. It was fondly hoped this would end the controversy. The slaveholders were still unsatisfied, and they prepared to carry out their plans of seceding from the Union. The census of 1860 was about to show a still greater increase of population in the free States, and in consequence a still greater majority in the House; while the ratio of their material prosperity was greater than ever. The same year Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was elected President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, Vice President. This was proclaimed a sectional election, for the express purpose of destroying slavery and ruining the South. It is proper to notice the means used to obtain this result.

¹ Hist. pp. 851, 873.

Plans were laid to secede long before the time the political parties were accustomed to make their nominations, and it was openly proclaimed that if an "Abolitionist"—thus designating a Republican—should be elected, the slave States would secede. When the Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency, it was soon discovered that ulterior views were entertained by certain members from the extreme Southern States. These demanded of their fellow members from the free States expression on the subject of slavery contrary to their convictions, and they also endeavored to repudiate Mr. Douglas, the most popular candidate of the party in the free States. The disunionists, unable to enforce their own plans, seceded from the Convention, and thus prevented a nomination. The united Democratic party could, with ease, have elected their candidate, but should he not be a pronounced secessionist the Southern wing determined to divide the party, and thus secure the election of a Republican, and seize upon that as a pretext for breaking up the Union.

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The Convention thus disorganized did not make a nomination, but adjourned to meet at Baltimore June 18th, and the seceders to meet at Richmond, June 11th: Mr. Douglas was nominated by the conservatives, and John C. Breckenridge by the seceders, or disunionists.

The candidates for the presidency were now Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, nominated by the Republicans; Stephen A. Douglas, of the same State, John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and John Bell, of Tennessee, on a platform of the "Union and the Constitution." On the sixth of November the election was held and Mr. Lincoln was chosen, he having 180 electoral votes; Mr. Breckenridge 72, Mr. Bell 39, and Mr. Douglas 12. Of the popular vote Mr. Lincoln, 1,857,610; Mr. Douglas, 1,365,976; Mr. Breckenridge, 847,953, and Mr. Bell 590,631. Owing to the system of electing by States, Mr. Lincoln had a majority of

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the electoral vote, while he had only a plurality of the popular vote, and Mr. Douglas had only 12 electoral votes to Mr. Breckenridge's 72, while the former's majority over the latter in the popular vote was more than half a million. It is supposed that not more than two-thirds of the popular vote for Breckenridge really desired secession, and then the vote in favor of Union was nearly seven to one; and even if they all desired it, the vote was then about four and a half to one.

The election of Mr. Lincoln was hailed with joy by the secessionists, especially in Charleston, South Carolina, which city had been foremost in these hostile demonstrations against the National Government. A State Convention, as soon as the result of the presidential election was known, assembled in Charleston, and declared that "the union before existing between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America was dissolved." The sympathizers of the movement in the "Cotton States" sent telegraphic messages of congratulation to South Carolina on her prompt action in seceding, and also promised aid; this was done to manufacture public sentiment. The stratagem did not fully succeed, the mass of the Southern people were by no means in favor of the disruption of the Union; the moderate men urged that nothing should be done harshly or hurriedly, their sentiment was: "wait till Mr. Lincoln is inaugurated, and commits the overt act." Virginia urged that time should be given for an effort in Congress to obtain certain measures; such as the repeal of the Personal Liberty bills in some of the free States; and a pledge that the fugitive slave law would be henceforth more promptly enforced; and the concession that the Constitution authorized slavery in the territories, and the protection of slaves as property.

The secessionists did not charge that the presidential election was unfair or illegal, but they assumed that the administration about to come into power would do something especially against slavery. The "Cotton States"

complained bitterly that the Fugitive Slave Law was not promptly enforced in the free States, but was obstructed by the Personal liberty bills; yet, the truth was, very few slaves from the Cotton States ever reached the free States. The runaways were from the border States, who were not so strenuous on the subject as to wish, on that account, to break up the Union, but proposed to remedy the evil complained of by influencing Congress. The Personal Liberty bills in the free States were a dictate of humanity and were designed to accomplish two objects: one, to prevent the colored freemen of the free States being kidnapped, and the other to secure to those who were charged with fleeing from slavery a fair and impartial trial as guaranteed to every person by the Constitution of the United States. If it was established that the person thus seized had escaped from service, these laws did not forbid the rendition of the fugitive to the person claiming such service. The Fugitive Slave law consigned the person thus seized to a commissioner to be handed over to slavery in such haste as to exclude him from the benefit of a fair trial, at the place of his residence, where he was known and could obtain witnesses.

Meantime, by high handed measures the Union men in the Cotton States were gradually coerced and rendered almost powerless under the persistent efforts of the secessionists. Throughout the slave States the non-slaveowners, almost universally, were Union men, and opposed to secession; and they looked upon the Civil War as a war designed by those who commenced it to perpetuate and extend that system. In voting, when they had opportunity they rejected the principle of secession; neither did they, as a class, enter the Confederate army until forced into its ranks by an unrelenting conscription.

It is strange that these leaders were unable or unwilling to see that the decline, which was noticeable forty years before, of the material prosperity of the slave States, was owing to that wasteful system; and still more strange that in

CHAP. the face of these facts they were continually devising means
 LVII. to extend a system of labor which failed to give them success
 1860. as a people. An exponent of the basis of the confederacy
 may be found in an address by its Vice President and ablest
 statesman, A. H. Stephens; he proclaims the true condition
 of the negro to be that of servitude as an inferior being;
 1861. alluding to the United States Constitution and its framers
 Mar. he said: "This stone (slavery) which was rejected by the
 21. first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in our
 new edifice." And these disunionists went to war to protect
 and extend slavery; the National Government, as a matter
 of defense, to protect the public property and to defend the
 Union of the States.

The Governors of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana, and Alabama took measures to have special sessions of the Legislatures called, or to have conventions held the members of which were to be elected by the people. The States of North Carolina and Arkansas did not take action by their Legislatures, as the majority of the people were opposed to secession. Thus was Tennessee also loyal to the Union. This loyalty was greatly strengthened by Andrew Johnson in the United States Senate and Emerson Etheridge in the House.

The doctrine that the President could not *coerce* a State was strenuously urged as a political truth; and it gave the disunionists great encouragement to know that Mr. Buchanan, the President, was understood to hold that opinion, hence it became necessary to press matters in order to complete the secession movement before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. Meetings to promote the cause were held in prominent places in the Cotton States, and the most remarkable misrepresentations were put forth in respect to the action and the sentiments of the people of the free States; and these passed without contradiction, for that was prevented by the exclusion of Northern declarations to the contrary and Northern newspapers. It is

not strange that by these means the people, especially the least intelligent, were grossly deceived.

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The majority of the people of the border States was opposed to these disunion measures; they knew that in case of war between the two sections they must suffer most from their geographical position, and they did not wish to be made a shield for their rash neighbors. These secession measures were planned and carried out by comparatively very few men, the people scarcely having an opportunity to take action on the subject. When the Colonies complained to England the people had the opportunity of freely expressing their views.

The events transpiring had an influence upon the finances of the country. Business began to decline, and capital, ever sensitive, to withdraw from investment. The vast quantities of merchandise on hand were thrown upon the market both by the importer and the domestic manufacturer. Early in November almost the only trade with the South was that of fire-arms; and former debts from that section were unpaid, while exchange was so high as to be almost ruinous to the honorable Southern merchants who wished to pay their Northern creditors. Meanwhile some of the Southern State Legislatures authorized the suspension of specie payments by the banks, and also a *suspension* of payments of debts due Northern creditors. This state of trade affected the National Government, and it was forced to borrow money at high rates of interest to pay the current expenses.

Nov.

The forts, arsenals, and navy-yards in the South had very few soldiers in them to protect the United States property; only eighty men were in Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, where, from indications, would be the first assault upon the authority of the Government. The venerable Lieutenant-General Scott urged the President for permission to throw a sufficient number of men into the fort to defend it from any attack the insurgents might make. But in vain. The President in his timidity and

CHAP. trammels of party would not comply with this patriotic
LVII. request. The loyal people were astounded at this apathy
1860. or remission of duty.

The Legislature of South Carolina provided for the military defense of the State ; they were henceforth to be “a people happy, prosperous, and free.” The army and navy officers—natives of the State, more than sixty in number—were urged to resign their commissions and join the ranks of secession. “Vigilance Associations” were formed throughout the State ; these assumed “full power to decide all cases that might be brought before them,” “power to arrest all suspicious white persons and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial,” to put down all negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes, that they (the Associations) might deem unlawful. Under these committees great numbers—because they were from the North—of men and women, teachers, preachers, travelers, and others were driven from the State.

Dec.
3.

The second session of the 36th Congress began, and President Buchanan sent in his Annual Message, in which he ascribed the existing evils between the States to the “violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, which had at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with some vague notions of freedom.” He announced that the revenue must be collected ; he denied the right of a State to secede, but he had no authority under the Constitution to coerce a State—a doctrine very consoling to those who had entered upon the treasonable attempt to break up the Union. He suggested that the late election of President did not afford just cause for dissolving the Union ; that the incoming President could not, if he wished, interfere with slavery ; he was the executor of the laws, not the maker nor the expounder. These facts the disunion leaders well knew, but they were encouraged by this announcement of non-coercion to urge the

slave States into secession before the new President was inaugurated.

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Discussions continued in both Houses of Congress; resolutions in great numbers were introduced by the members, to be referred to the Committee of Thirty-three, which had been appointed on the state of the country. These resolutions show the state of feeling of the members on the subject, and indeed of all the people, their constituents. Efforts were made by the committee to arrive at a satisfactory result by guaranteeing what the slaveowners desired, but it was soon seen that all conciliatory measures were vain; the secessionists did not want compromises; nothing short of absolute separation would satisfy them; and the thinking portion of the people saw that no concessions would avert the calamity of an attempt to destroy the Union.

Floyd, the Secretary of War, early in December passed over to the Governor of South Carolina the United States arsenal at Charleston under the pretext of preventing its being seized by the mob. Here were 70,000 stand of arms, the quotas designed for several Southern States. On the day on which South Carolina seceded he sent an order to the commandant of the Alleghany arsenal, near Pittsburg, "to ship 78 guns to Newport, near Galveston, Texas, and 46 guns to Ship Island, near Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi river." These forts were far from being finished or ready for their guns, but they were to be slyly transferred to the secessionists. The loyal people of Pittsburg protested against the shipment and the President countermanded the order. These guns were ten and eight-inch columbiads, the largest and finest in the country.

Dec.
24.

Three days after South Carolina seceded Major Robert Anderson, who was in command of the forts in Charleston Harbor, dismantling Fort Moultrie, spiking the guns and burning the carriages, evacuated it, taking with him its munitions of war, and occupied Fort Sumter. Prudence dictated this transfer, as no reinforcements came and Fort

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27.

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Moultrie could easily be taken on the land side, as that was unfortified. Castle Pinckney, another fort, was dismantled in the same manner.

This movement created the most intense excitement throughout the land; the Union portion thinking it an indication that the government would resist the secessionists. In the South the spirit of secession was more than ever rampant. The leaders professed to believe this the first advance in "coercing" a State. Major Anderson had only seventy-nine effective men, but in that little band were no traitors.

Forts Moultrie and Pinckney were at once occupied by the State militia, under orders from Governor Pickens. These were armed from the United States arsenal. It had been proclaimed that "our young men will do the storming and escalading; our s s will raise the crops, and make our ditches, glacis, and earthworks for our defense." In accordance with this, more than a thousand negroes, sent by their masters, were put to work to repair the forts and mount guns. This could easily have been prevented by shells from Fort Sumter's guns, but Major Anderson had orders to act only on the defensive. Soon as possible commissioners from Charleston came to Washington and demanded of the President either to order Major Anderson to evacuate all the forts in the harbor or reoccupy Fort Moultrie! This demand, so arrogant in its manner and terms, was not granted. From this time onward the "vigilance committees" were a greater terror than ever to the Union men and women, especially those of Northern birth. The atrocities inflicted upon them and the free negroes would seem incredible in this age, if the spirit which inspired them is not recognized.

The Collector of the Port of Charleston began to pay over to the State authorities the duties he collected. The President resolved to collect the duties on shipboard by sending a revenue cutter to lie off the harbor. He removed the Collector from office and nominated another; this nom-

ination he sent to the Senate for confirmation, but it was rejected by means of a few Northern Democratic Senators aiding those from the South.

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At a caucus held at Washington by the Senators from seven of the Southern States it was resolved to assume, for the present, the political control, and also the military affairs, of the South; to advise the calling of a convention of delegates from these seceding States, to meet at Montgomery on the 13th of the following February; to coerce the border States to secede, and in some way influence Maryland into a conflict with the National Government. They were of the opinion that by remaining in the Senate, though their States had seceded, they might prevent the passage of any measures such as the Volunteer, Force, or Loan bills, and thus disable the incoming administration from defending the Government's authority. In a letter* written from Washington, and dated January 7th, Yulee, one of the Senators from Florida, says, in speaking of the above bills: "Whereas, by remaining in our places until the 4th of March, it is thought we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming administration." Yet these Senators were at this very time under oath to support the Constitution and the Government. They assumed that Mr. Lincoln would be compelled to wait until a special session of the new Congress could assemble in order to vote supplies, authorize the necessary military expenses and calls for volunteers.

Jan.
6.

These leaders in only one State, South Carolina, permitted the people to vote direct on the subject of secession. The conventions, to which the people elected delegates with the understanding that their action was to be submitted to them for their approval or rejection, took the responsibility to pass ordinances of secession, upon which they did not dare give the people an opportunity to pass

* This letter, among other documents, was found at Fernandina, Florida, by the Union forces.

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judgment by their vote. This was contrary to their own constitutional form of making organic changes in their own State government. Only one State—Louisiana—in the entire South paid its own postage. The annual expense of carrying the mails in those States averaged annually about three and a half million of dollars more than the postage collected. This, however, was not assumed as one of the grounds of secession.

Jan.
30.

The difficulties of the Kansas question, which had lasted over five years, were at length ended by that Territory being admitted into the Union as a free State. A month later the Territories, Nevada, Colorado, and Dacotah, were organized. Congress by its silence on the subject leaving the question of slavery to be acted upon by the people themselves, when they should apply for admission into the Union.

Feb.
11.

Though the President elect had designed to journey in as quiet manner as possible from his home in Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, yet by the great anxiety of the people to see him he was induced to travel more slowly and to visit various places on the route. The Legislatures of the States through which he was to pass cordially invited him to visit their assemblies and become their guest. On the morning of his leaving home his neighbors crowded to the depot to bid him farewell. He made a feeling address, in the course of which he said: "My friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence upon which at all times he relied. I feel that I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him. I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that same Divine assistance, with which success is certain." He traveled slowly by special trains to Washington; at all stations, towns and cities, throngs of

people welcomed him, showing an intense interest, for at no time previous had a Chief Magistrate entered upon his office in circumstances so perilous to the nation.

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Delegates from six of the seceded States assembled in Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, to frame a constitution for the Confederacy. They copied very closely that of the United States, only introducing articles in respect to slaves and slavery; sanctioning the idea of property in man, which idea Madison and the other fathers of the United States Constitution repudiated. The Constitution of the Confederate States in one article reads; "No bill of attainder, or *ex-post facto* law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed." The convention established a provisional government and elected Jefferson Davis President, and A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. These were duly inaugurated, Davis making an address in which he assumed the right of the seceding States to take possession of the United States forts and property within their boundaries and settle for them afterward; that "the commercial world had an interest in our exports (meaning cotton) scarcely less than our own;" he suggested "the well known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy."—One of the most remarkable fallacies with which the disunion leaders deceived themselves was that England would aid them materially in order to obtain cotton for her factories. Though the governing classes in that country, with but few exceptions, gave the Confederacy their sympathy, yet they were too politic to enter upon war to obtain cotton from these States when it could be had from other sources at a little greater expense. At this result the disappointment of the leaders of the Confederacy was beyond expression. On a par with this want of wisdom were their mistaken views of the character of the people of the free States. They seemed to forget that the industrial activity and energy which they had displayed in their onward progress would now be applied to a civil war.

Feb.
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Feb.
18.

CHAPTER LVIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Inauguration.—Effect of the Inaugural.—Bombardment of Sumter.—The President's Call for Volunteers.—The Responses.—Riot in Baltimore.—The Spirit of Loyalty.—Confederate Congress at Richmond.—Feeling in Missouri and Kentucky.—Advance into Virginia.—Col. Ellsworth's Death.—Proclamations of Generals.—Instructions to United States Ministers Abroad.—English Neutrality.—Big Bethel Skirmish.—West Virginia's Loyalty.—Enemy Driven Out.—Battle of Bull Run.—The Effect.—Missouri.—Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Death of General Lyon.—Kentucky's Legislation.—Finances and the Army.—Ball's Bluff Disaster.—Hatteras Expedition.—Mason and Slidell.—Battle of Belmont.—The Invasion of Kentucky.—Battle of Mill Spring.—Davis's Special Message.—Meeting of Congress.—The Union Army.—Edwin M. Stanton.—Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson.—Confederate Retreat.

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THE day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration drew near; as it approached the painful suspense and anxiety of the people increased. Rumors were afloat of plots to prevent the new President from assuming office, and indeed of threatened injury to his person. The military were called out under the orders of General Scott; the first time in our history thought necessary to protect a Chief Magistrate from banded conspirators. In his inaugural the President announced that he should enforce the laws of the Union in accordance with his oath of office. "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts." Alluding to the secessionists, he says: "The

government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." His manner betokened a man cool and determined, but of kindly instincts, and one who fully appreciated the novelty of his situation. The inaugural gave universal satisfaction, except to those who, from their open or secret opposition to the government, would not approve its sentiments of loyalty. It strengthened the Union men of the South and created a very favorable impression in the Border States. But the secessionists proclaimed it was a war measure, and the Confederate government issued orders for the people to prepare for the conflict. The Southern newspapers more fully expressed the views of the disunion leaders. They urged immediate action; in the Border States they expressed opposition to "coercion"—a favorite term of those who wished to gain time for the inauguration of civil war. Mr. Lincoln's principal cabinet officers were: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of Navy.

The Confederate government endeavored to "*coerce*" the Border States to join them, by prohibiting the importation of slaves into the Confederacy from the United States, "except by persons emigrating thereto for the purpose of settlement or residence." This was specially aimed at Virginia, for the sale of surplus negroes from that State to the Cotton States averaged annually several million dollars. This law would materially affect that portion of the State east of the mountains, where the slaves were numerous, but not the portion west, where there were but few, and where the people were almost universally in favor of preserving the integrity of the Union.

The Confederate authorities desired, by means of commissioners, to treat as an independent nation with the United States government; but as such they were not recognized.

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The inaugural gave encouragement to the Union sentiment in the Border States. Kentucky refused to call a State Convention; Tennessee, by a majority of 50,000, resolved to remain in the Union; North Carolina appeared to be more loyal than ever, and even Virginia began to show strong attachment to the old order of things, but her people were not permitted to have a voice in their own destiny.

From the inauguration onward for some weeks, Fort Sumter was the subject of much anxiety both South and North; the former with hopes it would be evacuated, the latter for the most part that it might be maintained, and its garrison reinforced, and above all that there should be no concessions to men with arms in their hands, setting the authority of the government at defiance. Mr. Lincoln, slow and cautious in judgment, determined that Sumter should not be evacuated but defended, and let the responsibility rest upon those who should make the attack. The United States Senate, then in session, was also opposed to the withdrawal of the garrison.

A similar scene occurred in the harbor of Pensacola. Lieutenant Slemmer evacuated Fort McRae and passed over to Fort Pickens, which, by the almost superhuman exertions of his men and with aid of marines from the ships of war off the harbor, he fortified and held the enemy at defiance. During the night, boats with muffled oars brought him provisions and munitions and men, landing them safely on the island on which stood the Fort.

The government resolved to send provisions to Sumter; preparations for this purpose were made in the port of New York. At Charleston, General G. T. Beauregard, unmolested by Anderson, had been for weeks fortifying points on the harbor to prevent ships entering, and also to attack Sumter if not surrendered. President Lincoln sent a messenger to inform Governor Pickens of his intention of sending provisions to the garrison of Fort Sumter. The steward of the Fort had been warned a few days before

that he would not be permitted to purchase fresh provisions in the Charleston market. CHAP.
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Beauregard telegraphed to Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery, the information received from President Lincoln. The Confederate Cabinet was agitated; should they take the awful responsibility of commencing civil war? After two days came a telegram directing Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort as soon as possible. The demand was made with the promise of facilities for transporting the troops and their private property. Major Anderson courteously refused to surrender his trust, incidentally remarking to the messengers—Beauregard's aids—that his provisions would last only for a few days. This refusal was telegraphed to Davis, and also the remark in respect to the provisions. Davis replied, saying: "If Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that in the meantime he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter, you are thus to avoid the effusion of blood." "If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment deems to be most practicable." This was in substance communicated to Major Anderson, who replied, that unless he had orders from his Government or supplies he would evacuate by noon on the 15th inst. To this the "aids" answered, that fire would be opened upon Sumter in one hour from that time; the surrender was not wanted, except by inaugurating war,—thus "to fire the Southern Heart."

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Apr.
8.Apr.
11.Apr.
12.
2.30
A. M.

Promptly at the time indicated, April 12th, 4.20 A.M., a mortar on Sullivan Island gave the signal. This was followed by one gun from each of five batteries and a floating iron-clad. After a pause of a few moments fifty guns in concert threw forth their solid shot and shell upon the devoted Sumter and its garrison of seventy men. No reply was made; the men were ordered out of danger; at six o'clock breakfast was served; the men were then detailed under their respective officers, with the intention

CHAP. of relieving each other from time to time. The first
LVIII. detail, under Captain Arthur Doubleday, fired the first gun
1861. at 7 A.M., then for nearly three hours solid shot had been
pouring in, and shells were bursting every minute within
the inclosure. The parapet guns, after a few rounds, were
left, as the exposure was too great to man them. The men
of the second and third details or reliefs refused to wait
their turns, but insisted on joining in the fight; and so
vigorous were the discharges from Sumter that the enemy
thought the fort must have been reinforced. All were
inspired with patriotic zeal; even some Irish laborers joined
in with their native ardor for a fight. Presently one of the
officers heard the report of a gun on the parapet; going to
see, he found a company of the laborers amusing them-
selves in that exposed place by firing at the enemy. One
of them exclaimed with great glee that he had hit the
floating battery in the center. The soldiers characterized
them as the "Irish Irregulars." During Friday night the
mortar batteries kept up their fire to prevent the garrison
making repairs, and at dawn all the guns opened. Now
were fired red-hot balls, which set the barracks on fire, blew
up one magazine and endangered another, so that to avoid
further danger ninety barrels of powder were rolled into
the sea. The heat and smoke became stifling, yet the
brave fellows fought on breathing through wet cloths.
For thirty-four hours had the bombardment lasted, when a
boat was seen approaching from Fort Moultrie bearing a
white flag. Negotiations began, and Anderson agreed to
evacuate the fort. The troops were transferred to the
Baltic steamer, which brought them to New York. No
one of the Union soldiers nor of the enemy was killed in
the conflict. Major Anderson from on board the steamer
sent his report to Washington. After describing the ruin
of the fort, he says in conclusion: "The troops marched out
with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away com-
pany and private property, and saluting their flag with fifty
guns."

Apr.
14.

The firing on Fort Sumter fired the Northern heart. The insult to the flag and the nation had marvelous effect upon the minds of the people. By this act the secessionists had alienated more or less their most influential friends in the non-slaveholding States; could they have foretold the outburst of mingled sorrow and indignation that arose from all classes of persons, they would never have fired upon Fort Sumter without provocation. The hitherto sympathizers with the demands of the slave owners now, with but comparatively few exceptions, were as outspoken in condemnation of the act as those who had for years opposed those demands.

There was an indescribable feeling of emotion pervading the minds of all; one impulse seemed to move millions as one man; a quiet determination of purpose took possession of the people more powerful than if it had been demonstrative. The news of the attack and surrender had been sent to wherever the telegraph extended, and on the day—the Sabbath—the solemnity of the worshipers was deep and all-absorbing. Earnest prayers went up from the pulpits and were earnestly responded to from the congregations, for the Nation and for direction in this momentous crisis. This single act in a few short hours had made rival political partisans a band of brothers; prejudices melted away before the heat of an overwhelming love of country, as if they had never reflected upon its blessings, until the attempt was made to destroy its unity.

On Monday morning came the President's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to serve for three months to enforce the laws which had been opposed "and their execution obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas."

An appeal was made to all loyal citizens to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of the National Union. Responses to this appeal came at once from the loyal States; volunteers were offered by thousands; especially prompt were the States of Pennsylvania, Massachu-

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From the governors of the slave States—Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—came responses within a few days, all refusing to send their quotas of men, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee threatening to resist any attempt at “coercion” on the part of the National Government. This was more the sentiment of the individual governors of these States than of the majority of the people, as it was afterward shown. Every governor of the Border States was in favor of the secessionists except Governor Hicks, of Maryland. So deeply was the plot laid that at first the National authorities were taken at great disadvantage, the usual case with such events; the Confederates were prepared and therefore at first successful.

Never before in the free States was there such an exhibition of love of country. The people were intelligent and familiar with the merits of the question at issue—union or disunion—and acted accordingly. The flag—the symbol of a united Nation—became almost an idol; it floated from church steeples, from public buildings, from private houses, from mast heads; it decorated the shops and offices along the streets; the drayman put it on his horse and the engineer on his locomotive, while its beautiful colors were blended in rosettes and ribbons worn by matrons and maidens—all these manifestations told that the hearts of the people were with the government.

Pennsylvania, being the nearest, was the first to place men in Washington; six hundred of whom arrived there in four days after the call was issued. Massachusetts was really the first in the field in respect to readiness; her men were finely drilled and armed, and within twenty-four hours after the telegram brought the call for troops nearly every company of the four regiments called for was in Boston

ready to march. The men left their workshops, stores and farms at a minute's warning.

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Benjamin F. Butler was commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and ordered to Washington with two regiments, the Sixth and Eighth; the Third and Fourth were sent by sea in steamers to Fortress Monroe, thus securing that important place to the nation. The Sixth, in passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob in the interest of secession, and three of the men were killed—the first blood shed in the great civil war. This was the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, April 19th, 1775, and the nation entered upon a second struggle as a prelude to a still greater career of humane and industrial progress, to a higher plane of a Christianized civilization. It took eight years of war to establish our independence, and it took four years of war to make us a united people, in the course of which was removed the greatest drawback to the whole nation's progress.

Apr.
19.

The spirit of loyalty in the free States continued to furnish men and means to sustain the cause. In less than a month more than \$23,000,000 were given as a free offering to the Government, and volunteers far beyond the number called for.

Lieutenant Jones, in command at Harper's Ferry, learned that a force of about 2,000 Virginians were on their way to pillage the armory. As he had but fifty men, he prudently destroyed all the war material, blew up the magazine and withdrew to Carlisle, Pa. The following day the U. S. Navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk, was destroyed. Satisfactory reasons for this wanton destruction of property, amounting to many millions' worth, have never been given. The yard could have been defended with prompt action. About 2,000 cannon were thus furnished the disunionists, which they used during the whole war.

Apr.
19.

Threats were frequently made by newspapers and public men in the interest of the slave States that Washington would soon be in the hands of the insurgents. Their

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authorities made the most strenuous exertions to increase and organize an army. Jefferson Davis first called for 22,000 men, and soon again for 20,000 more. Their Congress met in called session, and resolved to remove their seat of government from Montgomery to Richmond, intending, no doubt, to "coerce" Virginia to pass an ordinance of secession, which the majority of the people of the State in an impartial vote would evidently oppose. Virginia's self-constituted authorities handed her over, and she was graciously received into the Confederacy by this Congress, just assembled at Richmond. But the people were promised the privilege of voting on this illegal ordinance of secession on the 23d instant; however, before that day came, all persons expressing Union sentiments were either driven out of the eastern portion of the State or compelled to hold their peace. Even the Mayor of Richmond, by proclamation, enjoined the people to inform him of any persons *suspected* of being Union in their sympathies (and Northern female teachers were advised by one of the newspapers not to talk). The election by the people was a farce.

The portion of the State west of the Blue Ridge was almost free of slaves and could not be "dragooned" into secession; the people there understood the question, and did not choose to fight in the cause, hence they refused to answer the call for troops by Governor Letcher for the Southern confederacy; they also took measures to become separate from the Eastern portion, and in a short time formed a new State known as West Virginia, which as such in due time was admitted into the Union. The national government threw a protecting force into the new State under General George B. McClellan, and speedily West Virginia was as free from armed secessionists as old Virginia of Unionists.

June
11.

In Tennessee the people's vote was disregarded, though by a majority of 50,000 they had decided against secession, yet the legislature led by Isham G. Harris, the governor, in secret session adopted the Constitution of the Confederate

States : Upon this act the people were invited to vote on the 8th of the next month. Meantime, as customary, a series of outrages were perpetrated on the Union men, to prevent their voting against the usurpation. Arkansas also by resolution of a Convention declared herself out of the Union. The Convention proceeded to pass laws by which all moneys due Northern creditors were to be paid into the treasury of the State.

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6.

The governor of Missouri—Claiborne F. Jackson—was a secessionist, and refused to furnish troops in response to President Lincoln's requisition. But the people themselves, under the leadership of Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, raised in two months nearly 10,000 men. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, in command at St. Louis, suddenly surrounded a Confederate camp—Fort Jackson—and captured every man. These had assembled under the pretence of preserving the peace of the State, and had been drilling for weeks ; their arms having been secretly sent them from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, whence they had been taken from the United States Arsenal. Previous to this, the energetic Captain Lyon, under orders from Washington, had transferred the arms and war material from the arsenal at St. Louis to Springfield, Illinois. The German element in the population of St. Louis stood bravely for the Union in this crisis.

Kentucky hesitated. She wanted to be neutral, but that policy was soon seen to be impossible. Under the influence of John C. Breckenridge, her young men were, for the most part, in favor of aiding the seceded States. Mass meetings were, however, held in different places, and the most influential men of middle life and upward came out in favor of the Union. Kentucky was only saved by the presence of nearly 20,000 volunteers from the free States over the Ohio river ; in truth Maryland and Missouri were also saved to the Union by their nearness to the free States.

From the frequent reconnoissances and surveys made by the Confederates it was evident they intended to fortify the

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heights of Arlington, of Georgetown and Alexandria, across the river from Washington; they had already occupied many points on the upper Potomac, ready to pass over into Maryland. The disunion leaders in the Cotton States had sent several thousand soldiers to this army now threatening the National Capital. These leaders had determined, as some of their papers indiscreetly stated, to make the border States, especially Virginia, the battle ground. They were willing to plunge the nation into war, but were anxious to have others suffer the consequences. Howell Cobb, the recent Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan, said in a speech: "The people of the Gulf States need have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and their other business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theater would be along the borders of the Ohio river and in Virginia." In truth the Old Dominion was sadly desolated; for four years, over her soil army after army passed and repassed. The devastation was inaugurated by the Confederates themselves, lest any sustenance or shelter should be found for the Union soldiers.

May
24.

General Scott anticipated the movements of the enemy by sending 10,000 troops in three divisions at 2 A. M. to seize the heights and fortify them. The Orange and Manassas railroad was seized, and on it a train having on board 300 Confederate soldiers, who were captured. Alexandria was also occupied. In this town over the "Marshall House" had floated for weeks a Confederate flag, which could be seen from the President's mansion, and to which it was given out the flag was designed as a taunt. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, of the Zouaves, seeing the flag floating, determined to get possession of it. He ascended to the roof, pulled down the flag, and when descending was shot and instantly killed by the proprietor of the house, who a moment after was shot dead by a private soldier who had accompanied the Colonel. The death of young Ellsworth was felt throughout the land, as he possessed remarkable qualities as a commander and disciplinarian.

General Irwin McDowell, in command of the Union forces, issued a proclamation in which he enjoined all the officers to make "statements of the amount, kind and value of all private property taken or used for government purposes, and the damage done in any way to private property, that justice may be done alike to private citizens and government." This is given to show the conciliatory spirit of the National Government; these regulations were enforced. Beauregard, in command of the Confederates, a few days later issued a counter-proclamation to the Virginia people in which he said: "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and impressing your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated." It is due to the truth of history that these facts should be noticed, as it was by such gross misrepresentations the mass of the people of the South were deceived before and during the war.

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The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, announced to our ministers abroad the policy of the Government in relation to foreign intervention. To Charles Francis Adams, at the British Court, he wrote: "You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or any apprehensions on the part of the Government." "You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromises by this Government under foreign auspices with its discontented citizens." To Mr. Dayton, Minister to France, he said: "The President neither expects nor desires any intervention, nor even any favor, from the government of France or any other in the emergency." "If several European States should combine in that intervention, the President and the people of the United States deem the Union, which would then be at stake, worth all the cost and all the sacrifice of a contest

May
11.

CHAP. with all the world in arms if such a contest should prove
LVIII. inevitable."

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21.

In respect to the blockade the Secretary wrote to Mr. Adams: "You say that by our own laws, and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from National ports, which have been seized by insurgents in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it is not maintained by a competent force; you will add that the blockade is now, and it will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain."

The astonishment of the American people at the position taken by England almost equaled their indignation. For many years invectives without number were thrown upon them, especially those of the free States, by influential persons in England, because they did not take political measures to abolish slavery, and thus violate the compromises of the Constitution made in other days, when the moral, political and economical evils of the system were not so well known.

But now, when the slave States had entered upon a war to protect and extend slavery, they had, with few exceptions, the full sympathy of the ruling class of England. Swift sailing vessels and steamers, with little hindrance on the part of the government, were fitted out from her ports laden with munitions of war to aid the Confederacy. The Queen, or rather the government, issued a proclamation of professed neutrality, putting the Confederates on the same footing as the United States Government. The cotton manufacturers and the iron interests, representing many millions of money, and employing several hundred thousand operatives, were in favor of recognizing the Confederacy. The former of these were nearly ruined by the want of cotton, which was cut off by the blockade, and the latter by the loss of the American market, as the tariffs

imposed to meet the extraordinary expenses incurred by the civil war had also given the American iron-masters reasons to extend their works, and they soon were able to supply the wants of the country.

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General B. F. Butler was transferred from Baltimore to Fortress Monroe. The Confederates, under General Magruder, occupied prominent points commanding the approaches to Richmond, while Yorktown and Gloucester Point were also fortified. General Butler resolved, by a night movement, to surprise and capture two positions of the enemy in the vicinity—Little Bethel and Big Bethel. The latter the stronger, and under the immediate command of Magruder. The plan was well arranged, and the troops set out on their night march, in order to attack Little Bethel at daylight. But two of the regiments came into collision, by some mistake made in the darkness, and fired into each other till the mistake was discovered. This firing gave information to the enemy, and those in Little Bethel hastily retreated to the larger and better fortified position. Meantime, the other portion of the Federal troops hearing the firing, fell back, lest they should be taken in flank. In the morning the disappointed Federals came together; a conference was held, and it was rashly determined to attack Big Bethel, whose guns commanded the approach. The result was a repulse, as might have been expected, yet the soldiers, some of whom had only been under arms a few weeks, stood the fire well. Here fell two of the most accomplished men in the command—Lieutenant Greble, of the United States Artillery, and Theodore Winthrop, secretary and aid to General Butler.

May
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June
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An election held in West Virginia shows that the great majority of the people of that section were true and loyal to the National Government. A few days afterward a force was thrown across the Ohio at several points. This force made short work with the armed enemy of West Virginia; driving out both them and the troops sent to their aid by the Confederates.

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June
12.

General McClellan opened the campaign by issuing a proclamation, in which was promised protection to the lives and property of the Union men from the armed enemy who were preying upon them. Grafton, an important point at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway with that of Northwest Virginia, was occupied by the enemy, who, hearing of the advance, evacuated that place, after destroying, as far as possible, culverts and railway bridges. The next place was Philippi, where the enemy were routed and scattered in a spirited fight, they leaving all their munitions; they, however, made a strenuous but unsuccessful attempt to recover their lost ground. A great deal of leniency was shown to the disunion portion of the inhabitants, which policy they but little appreciated. A Confederate force was concentrated at Rich Mountain; though strongly entrenched, General Rosecrans attacked them so vigorously that, under General Pegram, they retreated in the night in order to reach General Garnet's main force at Laurel Hill; but they became entangled in the woods, and food failing, six hundred of them surrendered as prisoners of war. When this was known, General Garnet rapidly retreated, throwing away his superfluous baggage. He passed along Cheat River, hoping by means of by-paths to reach the Valley of the Shenandoah. Though he impeded the pursuers by breaking down bridges and felling trees across the road, yet in spite of these obstructions the Union forces overtook him at Carrick's Ford. Garnet here made a stand to confront his indefatigable pursuers. He had taken a strong position on a hill whose base was densely covered by a jungle of laurel bushes; with him were 2,000 men, and a reserve of 3,000 men in the rear. Rosecrans made a demonstration in front at the Ford, while a portion of his men, by a flank movement, groped their way through the jungle and to the top of the hill, and with a shout rushed on the enemy, captured one of the guns commanding the Ford, and drove them before them. Garnet behaved with great bravery, but presently fell pierced by a rifle ball.

Then his men, panic-stricken, fled in confusion, and reaching the reserves in the rear, the panic was communicated to them and they also fled, only one regiment of Georgians making a short stand. These prisoners were treated with great kindness, clothed and fed, and unwisely permitted to simply take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government and then dismissed. Large numbers of these men, violating their oath, were soon found in the Confederate ranks. The Confederate loss in these conflicts was about 1,500 killed, wounded and prisoners; the Union loss was only 20 killed and 60 wounded.

General McClellan was relieved and ordered to Washington; General Rosecrans taking command of the Union forces in West Virginia.

Preparations were made for a general advance of the troops in the vicinity of Washington early in July. The troops under General Patterson on the Upper Potomac; those under McClellan—the extreme right—from West Virginia; and the forces under McDowell extending along the river opposite Washington; these all were to advance and gradually contract their lines around Richmond. The plan was General Scott's. General McDowell was to move direct upon Manassas Junction, on the railroad twenty-seven miles from Alexandria, an important strategic position held by the enemy. General Patterson had already moved from Chambersburg, Pa., and reached the Potomac and passed over, General Joe Johnston, in command of the Confederates in the Valley of the Shenandoah, falling back, after destroying what was left of the armory at Harper's Ferry and transferring the machinery to Richmond, there to be used in the Confederate service to the close of the war.

Patterson also issued his proclamation, promising protection to loyal men and private property, and the troops were enjoined to suppress any insurrection of the slaves. Ruin was found along the pathway of the retreating Confederate army; it was they who inaugurated the system of desolating the country through which they passed, nor till

CHAP.
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1861.

July
22.

June
16.

CHAP. the next year was any retaliation practiced by the Federal
LVIII. armies, and that but seldom.

1860.

Patterson had about 23,000 men, but he seemed to act without a fixed purpose or design; for some unexplained reason he recrossed the Potomac and fell back to Hagerstown, he said in consequence of orders from Washington, and the enemy returned to the south side of the river. Then again he crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, and appeared to hesitate, taking no responsibility. The campaign seemed aimless. The enemy now fell back beyond Martinsburg toward Winchester, where Johnston was said to have an army of 15,000 men well supplied with artillery. Patterson occupied Martinsburg. His orders were to press Johnston and prevent his reinforcing Beauregard at Manassas; but he hesitated, and soon it was discovered that Johnston and his whole army had marched southward, yet he lingered till he heard of the disaster at Bull Run. The Government should have put in command of these troops a regularly educated military officer, and not have risked so much by entrusting them to incompetent hands.

Meantime the Union troops were moving toward Manassas Junction, the enemy making but little resistance and falling back till they made a stand at Blackburn's Ford at Bull Run Creek, which they strongly fortified. McDowell resolved to turn the enemy's position and reach the Manassas Gap Railway, and thus intercept reinforcements from Winchester, as he fully expected Patterson to hold Johnston in check so that he could not bring aid to Beauregard.

McDowell made his arrangements to flank the enemy by crossing the creek at other fords. Parties sent out to reconnoitre on Saturday reported they had heard steam-whistles and the distant rumblings of railroad trains. It was learned after the battle that these trains had brought a portion of Johnston's forces.

July
21.

The various divisions of the Union army, but not in perfect concert, advanced to cross the fords. Owing to

want of discipline some of these divisions were behind the time appointed—daylight—to cross the fords nearly three hours. Of this want of concert the enemy availed themselves. They soon discovered the attack in front was a feint, and from that point they withdrew large detachments to be used elsewhere. The contest was a brave one on both sides, but desultory in the extreme, as might be expected from inexperienced men, nine-tenths of whom were going into battle for the first time. In different parts of the field the Confederates were driven from time to time and would recover; batteries of cannon changed hands more than once. Finally the Federals drove the enemy nearly two miles, and deemed the victory won. The Union troops had been in motion from 2 A.M., and had been fighting from ten o'clock, and at 3 P.M., were resting when they were surprised and suddenly attacked by about 5,000 troops fresh from a train from Winchester. At this crisis the other Confederates, thus encouraged, renewed the conflict with vigor. The Union forces were thrown into confusion and retreated in disorder, and being undisciplined could not be as a whole effectually rallied. Yet individual regiments one after another stood in the way and fought gallantly, retarding the advance of the enemy till the stragglers could retire to the rear. While the soldiers of both armies were inexperienced and but partially disciplined, they fought worthy of their fathers. The Union forces lost 481 killed and 1,011 wounded, the Confederates 296 killed and 1,533 wounded. This success of the Confederates made known to the people of the free States that the Civil War could only be terminated by hard fighting. “Beauregard’s victory at Manassas Junction inspired the Confederates with such confidence that they had not doubted for a single instant but that the North had received a mortal blow.” “But a few men, such as General Lee and General Joe Johnston and others, alone recognized the vital importance of the struggle in which they were engaged, and they

CHAP.
LVIII. ceased not to warn the Southern people against their foolish imprudence.¹

1861.

June
13.

Missouri being a Border State, the people were much divided, but the majority were in favor of the union, especially might this be said of the entire German population. Governor Jackson had fled from the capital at Jefferson City after issuing a flaming proclamation calling for 50,000 men to repel the invaders, meaning the U. S. troops under Captain Lyon. The Governor had slipped off up the river with steamers laden with the State ordnance. The energetic Lyon went in pursuit in steamers the same evening, and sent troops by land in the same direction to seize railroads and protect bridges and to intercept the fugitive governor and his adherents, the main body moving to Rolla, the then terminus of the South Pacific railway.

June
17.

Lyon first stopped at the capital and installed a Military Governor, Colonel Boernstein, then with three steamers, on board of which were troops and field artillery, he continued the pursuit, landing near Booneville, a few miles below where Jackson and Sterling Price, a former governor of the State, had made an entrenched camp, and had a motley crowd, composed largely of the *outside voters* we have seen in the Kansas difficulties. After landing Lyon marched at once to assault the camp, but met the enemy on their way to oppose his landing; he immediately attacked them and after a few minutes they fled, taking refuge in their camp; this they also soon abandoned, scattering in all directions. About 40 of them were killed and great numbers made prisoners. Jackson and Price both fled toward the South, where they expected to join troops from Arkansas and Texas under General Rains and the famous Texan ranger, Ben McCullough.

Lyon was sadly in want of reinforcements, but as all the troops were at that time sent to protect Washington, he was compelled to pursue the enemy with insufficient force.

¹ Childe's Life of Lee, p. 60.

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1861.

He sent forward Colonel Franz Sigel, who soon arrived at Springfield, in the south-western portion of the State; thence he advanced rapidly toward Carthage, to find all the Confederates united under Jackson, Price, and other chiefs. Though the enemy numbered 5,500 and a battery of five guns, and Sigel's force only 1,500 men and eight guns, two of which were twelve pounders, yet he did not hesitate to attack. He found them drawn upon a rising ground on the prairie; that morning they expected, as they expressed it, "to wipe out the Dutch hirelings." The battle commenced and the centre guns of the enemy were soon silenced, and they lowered the Confederate flag and raised that of the State; upon this Sigel's men were unwilling to fire. Then the Confederate cavalry, being very numerous, began to outflank the Unionists and Sigel fell back to protect his train. He held the enemy in check, pouring in at the proper moment "a shower of canister and shrapnel shell" until he reached Springfield, in spite of the numerous force around him. Next day the Confederates were reinforced by about 5,000 Texans under Ben McCullough. Five days after the battle General Lyon arrived at Springfield, which place the enemy almost surrounded.

The Missouri State Convention, largely composed of Union men, took action by electing provisional State officers. The people of the State respected the authority of the convention.

July
20.

General Lyon ascertained that the enemy, 23,000 strong, were concentrating at Wilson's Creek ten miles south of Springfield, and were preparing some onward movement. He resolved to anticipate them. The entire Federal force marched from their entrenchments at Springfield in two divisions—the one under Lyon, the other under Sigel—to surprise the enemy before they made their advance. Lyon was to attack the front at daylight, and Sigel the rear at the same time. Both were prompt, and one of the fiercest battles thus far began; in front the enemy were driven from the field. Lyon greatly exposed himself and was wounded

Aug
9-10

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twice. The enemy rallied and made a desperate effort to regain what they had lost but were most severely repulsed by the cool determination of the Iowans, who lying close on the brow of a hill let their foe come within 40 feet before firing upon them. They recoiled in confusion and finally fell back down the hill. It was seen that they were about to make another attempt, and Lyon desired his men to charge bayonets as soon as they had discharged their pieces. "Who will lead us?" exclaimed the men. "I will myself," said the general. "Come on, my brave men." The enemy came up but only fired and did not wait for the bayonet charge but fled down the hill. General Lyon was killed by this discharge. He was universally regretted, being one of the most accomplished officers in the United States Army. Meantime General Sigel was also successful in driving the enemy before him, but was at length greatly outnumbered by encountering a large force in his front and compelled to retreat, losing five cannons, three of which the soldiers spiked. This was a drawn battle. The Union army lost 263 killed, 721 wounded; the Confederate, 421 killed and more than a thousand wounded. The Union army under Major Sturgis fell back to Springfield, and finally to Rolla, the terminus of the railway, holding the enemy at bay, who now overran Southern Missouri, driving the Union men from their homes and pillaging the people generally. General J. C. Fremont assumed command in Missouri about the last of July.

Oct. 16. The Confederates pushed their line of devastation up to Lexington on the Missouri. This place was defended in the most heroic manner by Colonel Mulligan and his "Irish Brigade"—of 2,640 men,—but finally, when the enemy increased to nearly 20,000, he surrendered. This was but a barren victory, as the enemy were compelled to retreat rapidly toward the south, pursued by Fremont, who, after commencing the fortification of St. Louis, and organizing the forces already in the State and those collected at his call from other States, had taken the field (Sept. 26, himself.

Fremont was crippled for want of transportation, arms, clothing, and men. Yet, at a critical moment came to him an order from the Secretary of War and General Scott "to send 5,000 well-armed infantry to Washington without a moment's delay." Fremont, too, had issued a proclamation, in which he had declared the State under martial law; threatening, among the penalties, the freedom of the Confederate slaves. The latter clause offended those of the Union men who owned slaves, and at the suggestion of President Lincoln he modified that clause to read, "all slaves who have been employed on rebel military works." But it raised a clamor among the politicians that did not cease till Fremont was superseded, when General Halleck assumed command of the "Department of the West."

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1861.

Nov.
12.

Fremont's career at the West was brief—only one hundred days; but, being a man of military instincts and training, he showed in that time a sagacity which was not allowed fair practical development. In that brief time he was the first to suggest and inaugurate the following practices, then widely decried, but without which the war would not have been successfully concluded: the free use of cavalry (strongly opposed by General Scott and others); exchange of prisoners with the enemy; fortification of large cities, to allow armies to take the field; building of river gun-boats for interior operations at the West; and, the emancipation of the slaves. In short, he contributed more than is generally credited to him.

Sept.
10.

After the Union disaster at Bull Run the Confederates endeavored to regain West Virginia; sending a large force under Henry A. Wise and John B. Floyd. The latter was defeated by Rosecrans at Carnifex Ferry on Gauley River, but under favor of darkness fled, his men leaving all their munitions except what they could carry. General Robert E. Lee was sent with 9,000 men to drive the Federals from Cheat Mountain, but after several conflicts he was defeated and compelled to retreat east.

Sept.
4.

Kentucky in a recent election for Members of Congress

CHAP. had shown herself loyal by a majority of 55,000 ; though
LVIII. her Governor, MacGoffin, was a secessionist, and so was
1861. General Buckner, the commander of the State Guards.
July
1. The latter, treacherously betraying his trust, went over to the support of the Confederacy. John C. Breckenridge, who was in the United States Senate, and so much exercised because President Lincoln, as he argued, had violated the Constitution in calling out the 75,000 men to enforce the laws, threw all his influence in favor of the enemy, thus more than usual corrupting the loyalty of the young men of the State.

Sept.
3. The Legislature met and passed laws over the Governor's veto to furnish money to arm the State against invasion on either side, and preserve her neutrality ; that phantom soon vanished. A hostile force advanced from Tennessee, and taking possession fortified two points on the Ohio river—Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. On the same day General Zollicoffer, with an army occupied Cumberland Gap, in the eastern part of the State, intending thereby to cut off the Union men of East Tennessee from aid either from Kentucky or the Federal army. This concerted movement made it plain to the most obtuse that the Confederates, as had been their selfish plan, were, in order to save the "Cotton States," about to make the Border States the battle-field.

General U. S. Grant, who was in command at Cairo, Ill., at the mouth of the Ohio, immediately telegraphed news of the Confederate invasion to the Kentucky Legislature, then in session. That body at once passed a resolution inviting General Robert Anderson, of Sumter memory, to enter upon his duties in the "Department of Kentucky," to which he had been assigned by President Lincoln. Thus far there were no United States troops stationed in the State, and the only soldiers were enlisted Kentuckians.

Sept.
6. Grant did not wait for orders, but at once passed over into Kentucky, landing at Paducah ; issuing a proclamation, as was the custom in those days, to the effect that he

had come to protect the people and aid them in driving the hostile invaders from the State. CHAP.
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General Anderson assumed command, and the Legislature called out "for defense against the invaders" 40,000 men, and by law disfranchised those Kentuckians who had voluntarily joined the enemy if they did not return to their allegiance to the State. The neutrality of Kentucky was at an end. 1861.

Sept.
20.

The disaster at Bull Run rendered the people of the free States intensely anxious; fears were entertained of a rapid advance on Washington itself. That such an advance was not made is due to the opposition of Jefferson Davis, who thought the measure premature. At this crisis the terms of the first men called out were about to expire, and now a call was made for men to serve three years. The new rousing of the patriotism of the loyal North was sublime: regiments came into existence as if raised by magic; even sympathizers with the Confederacy cowered before the enthusiasm and determination evoked to repel the Southern advance; yet they continued to the end to disparage every loyal victory and exaggerate every defeat.

Congress was equal to the emergency; they passed a bill authorising the enlisting of 500,000 men and appropriated 500,000,000 dollars, to carry on the war. They also passed an act confiscating all slaves used by the South for military purposes; all slaves within the Federal lines were to be employed upon the works and paid as day laborers. General Butler had applied the term "Contraband of war" to the slaves escaping from their masters to his army at Fortress Monroe; although orders had been issued that such runaways should be restored, he delayed to comply with the order. Great care was taken by the National Government to conciliate the slave owners, but without success. Aug.
2.

Gen. McClellan entered upon his duties with commendable zeal; Washington was fortified thoroughly, there being no less than *thirty-two* forts constructed at different points Aug.
1.

CHAP. and garrisoned. But his great work was to bring order out
LVIII. of disorder, to discipline the numerous new soldiers that
1861. had crowded by steamboat and railway to the capital.
Oct. This great work he was fully competent to perform, and it
15. was as fully accomplished. By the middle of October he
had 150,000 men under his immediate command. No
advances were made, except reconnoitering expeditions to
ascertain the positions of the enemy and their designs.

The Confederates, under General Evans, made a feint
of evacuating Leesburg, in order to draw some one of these
reconnoitering parties into an ambuscade. General Stone
was in command in that vicinity. He ordered Colonel
Baker to cross the Potomac and try the enemy, for it was
well known that Leesburg was well fortified. The crossing
was made, but the enemy remained quiet until the Federals
were within their power. Then occurred a terrific battle
and slaughter, compared with the numbers engaged—and
Oct. Ball's Bluff disaster is the saddest of the war. General
21. Stone sent an order to Colonel Baker warning him of
danger, as the enemy were reported to be in strong force.
This order was given to Baker on the battle-field, who
asked the bearer what it was. The answer was, "All right,
go ahead." Colonel Baker put the order in his hat without
reading it, and went "ahead" straight into the trap laid
for him by the cunning enemy. After the battle the order
was found in the colonel's hat, stained with his own blood.

Lieutenant-General Scott asked to be placed on the
retired list, on account of his age and infirmities. This
request was granted. The President and his Cabinet going
to the general's quarters to respectfully bid him farewell as
commander-in-chief of the armies of the Republic. General
Oct. McClellan was appointed to succeed him, and he at once
21. assumed command.

A combined naval and land expedition was planned at
Fortress Monroe, where the veteran General Wool was now
in command—Butler having been relieved and ordered to
active duty. A fleet of three frigates, fifty guns each, and

four vessels of smaller size, besides transports and tug-boats to carry the land force. No person knew the destination, except a few of the officers, till the expedition was fully out at sea. The fleet was under Commodore Stringham, and the land forces under General Butler. The object was to capture and hold the two forts—Hatteras and Clark—at the entrance of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, in order to break up the contraband trade by which English blockade runners supplied the Confederacy with munitions of war, in exchange for tar, turpentine and cotton.

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Fort Hatteras was a very strong battery, nearly surrounded by water; Fort Clark, 700 yards distant, was not as strong. Almost on their arrival the frigates opened on the forts, while the transports landed their men some four miles distant. Hatteras replied with spirit, but wildly, and the Union frigates poured in their solid shot and shell, literally tearing the fort to pieces. Toward evening a storm arose and the vessels were forced to withdraw to the offing; in the morning the weather was clear and the frigates opened again upon Fort Hatteras. Meantime, the land forces occupied Fort Clark, which the enemy had abandoned. At 11 A.M., a white flag was run up on Fort Hatteras; both forts were unconditionally surrendered. More than 600 prisoners were taken, while not a Union soldier was injured. For a number of days the men amused themselves in capturing English blockade runners, who, not having learned of the capture, entered the inlet as usual. The blockade was enforced as much as possible along the coast, with its multitude of inlets and harbors, some of which had one or two entrances.

Aug.
29.

Two months later a similar expedition set out from Fortress Monroe. Commodore Dupont commanded the navy, and General Thomas W. Sherman the land forces. This expedition consisted of seventy-seven vessels, of all classes—steamers and sailers, steam-tugs, and ocean steamers as transports, and fifteen gunboats and one steam frigate, the *Wabash*. Among the great ocean steamers was

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7.

the *Vanderbilt*, afterward presented to the Government by Cornelius Vanderbilt. These vessels were nearly all volunteers—the ship-owners were not behind in their sacrifices for the cause. The whole expedition moved from Fortress Monroe; its destination was not generally known till it arrived off Port Royal, South Carolina, the finest harbor on the South Atlantic coast. After some unavoidable delays the gunboats and the *Wabash* were ready for the bombardment of the forts on each side of the channel. The vessels moved in an ellipse. As they passed up the stream they poured in a deadly fire of solid shot and shell on the forts on one side of the channel, then as they returned paid their respects to the forts on the other side; the most prominent, Hilton Head, was deemed invulnerable. The vessels thus moving passed in and out of the range of the rebel guns. The *Wabash* came within six hundred yards of Hilton Head, while the gunboats of smaller draft came close in shore and enfiladed the enemy's works. The Confederates could not stand the storm, but leaving everything fled to the woods. The bombardment lasted four hours. The Federals captured about forty pieces of ordnance, mostly of the heaviest caliber and of the most approved patterns, and an immense quantity of ammunition. The village of Beaufort was occupied. It was made the hospital headquarters during the war for that section, and a resting-place for the sick soldiers, weakened so much by the debilitating influence of the climate. After the capture of Hilton Head and the adjacent islands the enemy began to burn the cotton, lest it should fall into the hands of the Union soldiers. The whole heavens were lighted up night after night by the raging fires.

The unanimity with which the people of the free States responded to the calls of the Government, both for men and money, was truly marvelous. From April 15, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was issued, to August 15th, more than 500,000 volunteers had answered to these calls. Of these 375,000 were actually in the field. The

Government, from the first, determined to depend upon the people themselves, not only for soldiers, but for the means to defray the expenses of the war. In strictness there was not a *mercenary* in the Union armies; there were those of foreign birth, but they were either citizens by adoption and oath of allegiance, or had declared, according to law, their intention to become citizens; they received pay for their services, which was just and proper. When the call for money was made, the banks of the principal cities immediately loaned the government fifty million dollars. Then the appeal was made to the people at large, who could subscribe in small sums according to their ability. The rapidity with which this loan was taken proved the earnest loyalty as well as the intelligence of the people of the free States. The interest on this loan was at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent., or two cents a day on \$100. To raise more revenue a heavy tariff was imposed on foreign merchandise and manufactures. The result was great development in the manufacturing industries of the land, and an abundance of employment given to those of moderate means, whose only capital was their skill and hands. Never before did they move so energetically in their industrial pursuits.

On a dark and stormy night one of the English blockade runners, the steamer *Theodora*, slipped out of Charleston harbor, having on board John M. Mason of Virginia, author of the fugitive slave law of 1850, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as special envoys to Great Britain and France. They were landed at Cardenas, Cuba; thence made their way to Havana, where they went aboard the English mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes of the United States steam sloop of war *San Jacinto*, and who, when a lieutenant, had commanded a voyage of scientific discovery round the world, overhauled the *Trent* and demanded the envoys, who were delivered up to him. Captain Wilkes called at Fortress Monroe, sent his dispatches to Washington, and then steamed for New York, where he received orders to send the envoys to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, at which

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place they were delivered. The news of this capture caused unprecedented excitement throughout the land. The people, with the greatest enthusiasm, approved the action of Captain Wilkes. But the absorbing question arose, what will be the result? Captain Wilkes justified himself, showing his authority from writers on international law, but more from English precedent. It was well known that our war with England in 1812 arose in part from the fact that English cruisers assumed the right to board neutral ships on the high seas and search them for articles contraband of war. Wilkes deemed the envoys contraband. The United States Government had always denied the right, and fought to maintain its opposite. The British Government, in courteous terms, due to the influence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who both sympathized with the North in the Civil War, demanded the release of the envoys. They were returned more in accordance with the American idea that it was wrong to seize neutral vessels on the high seas than from precedent derived from British custom. Indeed before the demand came the matter had been amicably arranged between Lord Lyons, the British Minister, and Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. As Captain Wilkes, who was on his return from a three years' cruise, had arrested these men without orders, the act was disavowed, and no cause of war remained. Meantime great excitement prevailed in England. War preparations were made in great haste, and troops were sent to Canada. The disappointment of the Confederate authorities was almost unbounded. They had hoped it would lead at least to a collision with England, and perhaps to their material aid. King Cotton had already failed them, and now they were to derive no benefit from the capture of the envoys.

The enemy under Bishop Leonidas Polk, who had been made a Major-General, held a strongly fortified position at Columbus, Kentucky; on the other side of the river, at Belmont in Missouri, was a well fortified camp. General Grant, then at Cairo, resolved to break up the latter, as

from there expeditions could be easily sent into Missouri or up or down the river. With about 3,000 men aboard steamers and escorted by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, the Union soldiers landed four miles above Belmont and at once took up their march toward the encampment. In about a mile they fell in with the enemy and drove them "foot by foot and from tree to tree back to their encampment on the river's bank, a distance of over two miles;" as they drew near, suddenly was heard firing and cheers on the rear of the enemy. The Illinoisians, under Colonel Napoleon B. Buford, had made a detour rapidly and were now closing in; a combined movement was made upon three sides of the enemy's works, which were soon in possession of the Union forces; "The rebels passing over the river bank and into their transports in quick time." The object was accomplished; Grant destroyed all the munitions and property of the camp, and then fell back to his transports. Meantime Polk had sent troops to attack the Federals on their way back but without success. Bishop Polk reported; "It was a hard fought battle lasting from half past ten A.M. to five P.M.;" he judged Grant's force to be 7,000 strong. The Federals lost 84 killed and 288 wounded; the enemy's loss was never accurately known.

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7.

The enemy had taken possession of Cumberland Gap to prevent the Unionists of East Tennessee from being aided by United States troops. The Union men of that section displayed the most heroic patriotism of any portion of the country; and the Confederate authorities thought it of the highest importance to prevent that section being occupied by Union forces, lest they should cut in twain "The Empire of the South." General William T. Sherman, who had succeeded Anderson in Kentucky, was of the same opinion, but the authorities at Washington seemed to think otherwise. If that point had been occupied in force, communication with Cincinnati and the North could have been kept open. The persecutions and outrages inflicted upon the

CHAP. Union men were fiercer in East Tennessee than in any por-
LVIII. tion East of the Mississippi.

1861.
Nov.
15.

General Buell assumed command in Kentucky, and he withdrew the Union troops from the eastern portion of the State as a large Southern force was reported to be in the vicinity of Bowling Green, an important strategic point, and that their intention was to move North and capture Louisville, and a strenuous effort must be made to drive them from the State. The Union men of the State turned out nobly in aid of the cause more than 18,000 who never flinched in in battle; and yet the State had furnished many thousands of misguided young men to the very army which was now invading and foraging in their native State. In the eastern portion of the State a series of skirmishes had taken place in which the enemy, often worsted, were driven from point to point, but finally they concentrated under General Zollicoffer, and made an attack on the Union forces under General Thomas at Logan's farm—this battle is known as that of Mill Spring, though that was eight miles distant.

Jan.
17.

General Thomas had made his arrangements to attack the Confederates in their intrenchments; but they themselves had thought to attack Thomas in a similar manner. They, accordingly, left their entrenchments after dark on a Saturday night, and the next morning at seven o'clock drove in the Federal pickets. Word was speedily given that the enemy were in force, and in less than half an hour the Union soldiers were in line of battle, a detachment, meanwhile, holding the foe in check. The conflict was severe, and the lines wavered back and forth for hours. The Confederates had protected themselves by an extemporized bulwark of fence rails and a barn. Between them and the woods where the Federal soldiers were, was an open field. Colonel McCook determined to capture these defenses, and he ordered the Ninth Ohio, Germans, to fix bayonets; then moving along the front, he shouted, "My invincible Germans, charge!" A moment afterward the whole regiment was in the open field, and with shouts rushed upon the

enemy, who lingered for a moment as if bewildered, and then fled. The Union troops with cheers advanced the whole line, and their defeat was complete; nor did they stop till they reached their entrenchments, eight miles distant. The Union forces pushed on, and late in the afternoon commenced a sharp cannonade. Night came on, and Thomas made preparation to assault in the morning. At daylight the ramparts were scaled, but not a man was to be seen. The night before the enemy had fled silently, leaving everything in their camp, lest the noise of destroying their munitions should betray their design. Their commander, General Zollicoffer, had been killed, and they were completely demoralized and abandoned all their fortifications in that region.

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The way was now open to occupy Cumberland and Pound Gaps, and an entrance into East Tennessee, so much dreaded by the Confederate authorities; but General Thomas was ordered to coöperate with the Federal advance toward Bowling Green and Nashville.

Jefferson Davis sent in a special message to the Confederate Congress. This document was evidently designed to produce a certain effect, especially in England and France, to whose courts he had just sent the two envoys. Every conflict thus far had resulted in a glorious victory for the South; not a word was said of the progress of the Federal cause in Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia; not a word of the capture of Hatteras, or Hilton Head, or Beaufort. The cotton-spinners of England were kindly admonished that the blockade might diminish the supply of that article. He proclaimed that the financial system adopted had worked well, when the general impression was that "their National Loan and the Cotton and Produce Loan" were failures.

Nov.
18.

The question of the slave came more directly than usual before Congress on its assembling. A change was in progress among thinking minds in the free States in respect to his position in this contest. He was used by the nation's

Dec.
2.

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enemies to build fortifications, to raise corn and cotton, to support and protect the families of those who were in the armies of the Confederacy. He had been happily characterized as a "contraband" of war; yet commanders in the field had usually treated him as a slave, and in some instances, when a fugitive in the Union army, he was restored to his master when the latter was a Confederate. The annual report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, favored negro emancipation, and remuneration to the loyal slave owners.

The same report stated that the total number in the army was: infantry, 568,383; cavalry, 59,398; artillery, 24,686; rifles and sharpshooters, 8,395; engineers, 107. In the aggregate, 660,971, of which 20,334 were of the regular army. The Southern army numbered about 350,000. There are no data for an accurate estimate, as they usually exaggerated their numbers before a battle and depreciated them afterward.

Around Washington an army of about 200,000 was drilling during the summer and the entire autumn, and no doubt was as well disciplined as any such body of men could be. The people became impatient that this numerous and well appointed army should lie idle so long; and the soldiers themselves became equally impatient. The roads were in perfect order for an advance on the enemy, and the weather all that could be wished. The enemy were almost in sight, flaunting their flags and holding their entrenchments, while their newspapers sneered at the want of energy in the Union commander. In other portions of the country the Union generals made advances and were successful in West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, but "All is quiet on the Potomac" had passed into a proverb. The enemy went deliberately into winter quarters in the vicinity of Centreville and along the upper Potomac. The people began to feel there was something mysterious in this delay. The President appointed Edwin M. Stanton Secretary of War in place of Mr. Cameron, resigned. The new Secretary, by his untiring energy and intense loyalty, was most

Jan.
15.

efficient in promoting the Union cause ; stern and inflexible in character, obedient only to the dictates of duty.

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1862.

It was planned, when the stage of water in the Tennessee and the Cumberland would admit of the free passage of the gunboats, to penetrate the Confederacy along these rivers, and thus turn the strongholds of the enemy at Columbus, on the Mississippi, and at Bowling Green, in Southern Kentucky. Captain A. H. Foote had been detailed from the United States Navy to command the western flotilla of gunboats. These boats were of somewhat different construction from the ocean-going, being flat-bottomed and not plated so heavily ; indeed some of them, from the lightness of their armor, were jocosely styled "tin-clads." Grant had about 30,000 men gathered at Cairo, Paducah and Bird's Point. Reconnoissances, which had sorely distracted the enemy, both by land and water, ascertained the positions of their forces.

At length the expedition was ready to move ; ten regiments, with their artillery and cavalry, embarked on transports at Cairo. The steamers headed up stream to Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, and up that river. The Confederates now learned that Fort Henry was to be attacked. Captain Foote, with his gunboats, bore the steamers company. Four miles below the fort the troops under General McClernand disembarked, Foote meanwhile shelling the woods in search of the enemy. The following day transports brought more troops and General Grant.

Feb.
2.

Captain Foote wished the attack to be deferred for a day, so that the fort could be so invested as to secure the prisoners, assuming that he himself could subdue the fort before the troops could get in position. The gunboats had not yet been tried, and both Grant and his officers evidently did not have the faith in them that the captain had. Prompt at the hour, 11 A. M., General McClernand moved to throw his division on the road leading from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Captain Foote also

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6.

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1863.

moved at the same time, and passing up on the west side of an island, and, the water being high, over obstructions put in the channel, suddenly came into the river near the fort. The gunboats took their position and began to throw shots and shells, and approached nearer and nearer; so terrible was the storm that the earthworks crumbled away and nearly one half of the fort's guns were dismounted, and the infantry supports of the artillery fled, the Confederate flag was hauled down and the fort surrendered unconditionally. Only 130 prisoners were secured, the remainder escaped, as the Union forces were not yet in position to capture them, for, true to his word, Foote had subdued the fort in one hour and fifteen minutes. The astonishment at the success of the gunboats was as great among the army and its officers as the wholesome dread with which they inspired the Confederates. Unfortunately the boiler of the Essex gunboat was struck by a cannon ball, and the issuing steam scalded twenty-four of the men and killed four instantly, otherwise the boats were scarcely injured.

The captain sent gunboats in pursuit of the steamers, which they overtook and destroyed, and also transports laden with supplies for the enemy. They ascended to Florence, Ala., making clean work of all war material on the river. The Union gunboats, at almost every point, were welcomed by the people. Captain Foote returned on the evening of the battle to Cairo, to repair damages to the boats and prepare for the expedition against Fort Donelson on the west bank of the Cumberland, twelve miles east of Fort Henry. The Confederates deemed it of the greatest importance to hold this place. Thither General A. Sidney Johnston had sent troops under John B. Floyd and Buckner, the former having chief command.

The main fort stood on a gradually rising hill; the top, or plateau, contained about one hundred acres. The crest of this plateau was encircled by rifle pits, and artillery commanded every approach, and it was deemed impregnable by

the enemy. West and south of the fort were hills densely wooded and filled with ravines. CHAP.
LVIII.

Grant moved from Fort Henry and invested Donelson on the afternoon of the same day. The next day were fierce artillery duels; sharpshooters on both sides were busy; desperate sorties by the enemy were repulsed; and an equally desperate attempt to capture a battery that annoyed the Union army was made by McClernand's order, but after a heroic effort failed. 1862.
Feb.
12.

The next morning Captain Foote came up with six gunboats, and at 2 P. M. commenced the bombardment of the fort. The boats came within 350 yards of the water battery. For more than an hour the battle raged. Only two of the enemy's guns were able to reply, when a chance shot cut the tiller chain of the Louisville. The boat veered round and exposed her side, and another such shot broke the rudder post, and she was carried helplessly down the current. Encouraged by this mishap, the enemy directed all their fire on the St. Louis, the flag boat, a heavy battery on the hill joining in. The St. Louis was soon as helpless as the Louisville, one of her side wheels being broken by a solid shot, and she too floated down the stream after having been struck fifty-nine times. Feb.
14.

An assault had been intended all along the enemy's line when the fleet had silenced the guns in the water forts. After the result was known General Grant consulted with Foote, and it was deemed best to repair the gunboats and wait for the mortar floats, that were not in readiness when Foote left Cairo at the peremptory command of Halleck.

Meantime the enemy became alarmed lest they should be so hemmed in that they could not escape, and they resolved to cut their way out by dislodging their besiegers. Accordingly at dawn of day the next morning they moved out in three divisions, intending to converge to one point of attack on the Federal right next the river; but they unexpectedly found the Union army prepared in front of their own earthworks, and before they were formed in line Feb.
15.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1862.

of battle they were attacked and held in check, but only to make another attempt, and thus on the south side of the fort the conflict waged for five hours. Regiment after regiment of these inexperienced Union soldiers took their places and remained till their ammunition was exhausted, and they were relieved by fresh troops. Many of these when their cartridges failed begged to be led in a bayonet charge against the enemy. Such was the spirit of this whole army. The battle for the most part was fought in a forest with a dense undergrowth, which much impeded rapid movements. The Confederates thus far had made desperate aggressive attempts. Now Grant, who had been absent holding a consultation with Captain Foote, in turn determined to assault their lines, and he ordered the Federals, about one P.M., to carry the enemy's position by assault. This was most handsomely done, the enemy being driven at the point of the bayonet to their inner works. On the Federal right a similar assault was made, with the same result. The Union army held all their advanced positions during the night, and were preparing to renew the attack in the morning. This gloomy night was passed in bringing within the Union lines the wounded, scattered over a space of two miles and a half. The Union soldiers and the Confederates fared alike, being cared for with equal kindness.

There was evidently commotion in the enemy's camp. In the morning, when the Union lines advanced at daylight to the assault, numerous muskets were held up along their ramparts displaying white flags. The advance halted, and General Buckner desired to negotiate. He was left in command; Floyd and Pillow had slipped off up the river with some of their followers on board a transport, and left Buckner to bear the stigma of surrendering. He wished for an armistice and terms of capitulation. General Grant refused the request, and replied, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted; I purpose to move immediately on your works." Buckner at

once surrendered. The number of prisoners was nearly 14,000, and their killed and wounded 1,300; and all the guns and military stores, an immense amount. This victory sent dismay into the Confederacy, while the rejoicings in the loyal States were great. The activity and energy of the Western undrilled armies were contrasted with the inactivity and discipline that reigned around Washington.

Immediately after this capture the enemy evacuated Bowling Green and moved toward Nashville, which place they merely passed through, destroying, in their haste, both the railway and suspension bridges over the Cumberland—an unnecessary destruction of property, as their ruin scarcely impeded the Union army. The Legislature with the Governor left in haste. The beautiful city was occupied by Federal forces and order restored. That stronghold Columbus, on the Mississippi, was also evacuated on the receipt of the news of the fall of Fort Donelson.

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CHAPTER LIX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Burnside's Expedition to North Carolina—Capture of Newbern—Battle of Pea Ridge—Capture of New Madrid and Island No 10—Battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh—Capture of New Orleans—Death of Admiral Foote—Battle of river iron clads—Capture of Memphis—Evacuation of Corinth—Plans of movements on Richmond—The Merrimac and Monitor duel.

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1862.

ON the Atlantic coast a naval and land expedition under Commander Goldsboro and General A. E. Burnside was fitted out, against Roanoke Island—the scene of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony¹—and to make a demonstration on the coast of North Carolina, to encourage the Union men, and also create a diversion south of Richmond and Norfolk.

Feb.
8.

In approaching Albemarle Sound the hostile fleet and an earthwork known as Fort Barton were encountered; the enemy's fleet soon retired out of harm's way, and Goldsboro opened upon the fort, but was not able to reduce it after a bombardment of some hours. During the night the troops landed, and in the morning, under General Foster, moved to the attack over a swampy and difficult way. On the march they came upon a battery, protected by a swamp on either side; Foster flanked the battery right and left, and when the Union soldiers came out upon their rear flanks, the enemy threw down their arms and fled. This success was

¹ Hist. pp. 72-74.

followed up and their entire force—about 3,000—on the island of Roanoke was captured. CHAP.
LIX.

Burnside issued the usual proclamation, promising protection to those engaged in their usual avocations and enjoining the Union soldiers not to injure private property on their march. Roanoke Island became the base of operations; and from it were sent out many expeditions which essentially interfered with the English blockade runners by seizing harbors and filling channels of approach.

The most important capture of Newbern on the Neuse was accomplished by a combined land and naval force. The troops landed 17 miles below the town, and marched up the road along the river bank and a railway track from Beaufort, the gunboats by their shells keeping the enemy at a respectful distance. About three miles below the town was found a formidable fieldwork, which promised to offer much resistance. This fortification was flanked by a swamp and Burnside sent a detachment round, while he pressed the enemy in front; the detachment appeared on the flank, but the Confederates held their ground until a Rhode Island regiment, on the run, charged bayonet and changed the tide of battle; other Union troops pressed on and the rout was complete. A portion of the fleeing enemy reached a train of cars and carried the news of defeat to Newbern. There, as was their custom, they began to burn a bridge and all the rosin and turpentine, and the steamers at the wharf, two of which were saved by the United States gunboats. The enemy had wantonly set the town on fire, but the citizens with aid from the United States Marines succeeded in putting it out, though not until the best Hotel and the Court House and many private residences were consumed. General Foster was installed as Military Governor in Newbern.

1862.

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Other places in the vicinity were captured, such as Beaufort and Washington, on Pamlico River. Fort Macon, a strong fortification built by the United States Government to protect the harbor of Beaufort, was reduced after a bom-

when they broke and fled in all directions. Thus ended the two days' fight at Pea Ridge. Never before had the enemy suffered so disastrous a defeat. Soon after those who had not deserted were transferred to the army of General S. A. Johnston, again to meet the Union soldiers under General Grant.

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LIX.
1862.

The National Government never lost sight of the importance of the control of the Mississippi river, and to that end Admiral Foote directed his attention in connection with a land force under General Pope. The enemy made the most strenuous exertions to retain their hold of the great river as a most important source of supplies, both beyond it and on its tributaries.

The islands in the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio downward are designated by numbers. The Confederates chose available points on the river to fortify, such as New Madrid in Missouri, opposite Island No. 10, Tiptonville in Kentucky, and No. 10 itself—all three within supporting distance. To this island they had directed special attention, Beauregard, their best engineer, superintending the works and pronouncing them impregnable. In consequence here were collected vast military stores and provisions as for a long siege.

Admiral Foote was to bombard No. 10, and at the same time Pope to capture New Madrid. The latter found the town fortified by earthworks and defended by three gunboats, which, because of the high water in the river, were able to sweep its banks, and in the face of these guns it would be impossible to hold the town if captured. He therefore sent to Cairo for siege guns—24 pounders. These soon came, and during the night time were placed in position within 800 yards of the enemy's main fortification, and in the morning opened upon the astonished enemy, every shot telling with fine effect, dismounting several of their heaviest guns. The shot also reached their gunboats and steamers in the river, compelling them to hasten out of range. A night of storm and rain came on, and in the

Mar.
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CHAP. morning, just as the guns were about to reopen, a white flag
LIX. was seen approaching. The messenger brought word that
1862. the enemy had evacuated the fort, abandoning everything,
Mar. and the town authorities wished to surrender.
14.

Immediately after the surrender General Pope prepared to coöperate with Admiral Foote in the reduction of No. 10. The latter came down with his gun-boats and mortar-floats, and for twenty-two days bombarded the island, but without effecting any great break in the works. The whole west shore of the river opposite the island was under water from the spring freshets, and Pope had no transports to carry his men to the east side of the river, and they could not pass the batteries on No. 10. Pope determined, at the suggestion of General Hamilton, to cut a canal across the peninsula, in the rear of New Madrid, to the river below, and pass through this the transports. By an ingenious apparatus the trees were sawed off four and a half feet below the surface of the overflowing water, and thus a passage was made for the transports which at once passed through. This unique canal was twelve miles long and fifty feet wide. On the evening of the day on which this canal was finished, the gunboat *Carondelet*, in the midst of a thunderstorm, ran past the batteries on No. 10, and two nights after the gunboat *Pittsburg* performed the same feat. These boats soon silenced the rebel batteries along the river below, and by midnight of the same day Pope's army was across the river and pushing for Tiptonville to intercept the enemy fleeing from No. 10, which place, it was rumored, they were evacuating. Early the next morning No. 10 surrendered to Admiral Foote "17 officers, 363 soldiers, 70 heavy cannon, ranging from 32 to 100 pounders, the latter rifled, and an immense amount of other military stores, four steamers and a floating battery." Meanwhile Pope had intercepted the retreating foe, who laid down their arms, surrendering unconditionally as prisoners of war, in all nearly 7,000. A few days before the surrender Beauregard left No. 10. This defeat and loss was a source of great mortification to the

Confederate authorities, and was equally a gratification to the loyal people of the free States.

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General Grant and his army left Nashville and marched for the Tennessee River, which they reached, about 240 miles from its mouth, at an obscure place of three or four houses, known as Pittsburg Landing, but now famous in the annals of the war.

General Buell soon after began the march with his Division for the same place. The ultimate point sought was Corinth, a strategic position in Northern Mississippi on the Memphis and Charleston railway. For two months the enemy had been concentrating here, and fortifying the hills in the immediate vicinity, General A. S. Johnston first in command, and Beauregard second. The most strenuous efforts were made to resist the Union army; Manassas and Centreville were evacuated—McClellan by his inactivity permitting it—and their lines drawn more closely around Richmond; in order to spare troops for this emergency; General Bragg was ordered from Pensacola with his well-drilled artillery and infantry; Columbus was evacuated and under General-Bishop Polk the garrison marched to the same point; and from Arkansas, late from Pea Ridge, came General Van Dorn, bringing 15,000 men. The enemy advanced from their stronghold to meet Grant's army at the crossing, and if possible crush him before Buell could bring up his forces. The Union army had crossed over and was stationed in a semi-circle, the center in the front of the road to Corinth, the left extending round to the river at Hamburg, four miles distant. The Shiloh meeting-house stood directly out in the country, two and a half miles from the landing; around this church was the principal conflict, hence the Confederates name the battle Shiloh. The country west of the landing is rough, and covered with a dense forest of scrub-oak and black jack, with here and there an open field. The enemy skirmished more or less for two days, no doubt to ascertain the Federal position.

Mar.
18.

Early Sunday morning they drove in the advanced

CHAP. Federal pickets. The entire division flew to arms and
LIX. awaited the enemy's advance. After an hour's waiting
1862. they came on, attacking the center; and, extending their
Apr. line by an oblique movement, threw an overwhelming force
6. upon the left, driving the Federals back and capturing
General Prentiss and his regiment almost entire. They
pressed on, turning to the left, but were held in check by
three Illinois regiments till they were overpowered and
forced to retire, losing three guns. General W. T. Sher-
man still held his first line at the meeting-house until the
enemy passed round to his rear, when he fell back and took
a new position. "My division," he says, "was made up
of regiments perfectly new, nearly all having recently
received their muskets." Great numbers of these fright-
ened men found their way back to the river, two miles
distant, and no efforts of their officers could induce them
to return. The enemy by main force drove the Union left
through their camp toward the river, but were at length
held at bay for four hours by the pluck of General McCler-
mand and his troops. The Confederates had planned not
to attack but in overpowering numbers; thus when they
attacked the center they deployed their main force against
the left. They well knew that, if at all, they must crush
this advanced Union force before Buell could come up, or
troops under Generals Nelson and Thomas could reach the
field of battle. At five P.M. was a brief lull in the firing.
The enemy fell back, and then suddenly, as if to take the
Federals by surprise, threw forward their whole force for
the second time, with such fierceness and desperation that
the Union army was compelled to fall back. Just then the
gunboats Lexington and Tyler came up the river. They
soon learned by a messenger from General Grant the posi-
tion of the enemy. The boats took their station and sent
in with great rapidity their shot and shell, the latter burst-
ing amid the ranks of the Confederates. "The shells
hurling death and destruction through the scrub-oak jun-
gles under whose cover the enemy fought securely." In

less than thirty minutes they silenced the Southern batteries. Just before the boats opened fire Buell's advanced division appeared on the Union right, and they successfully resisted the last charge of the enemy that day. This was nearly a great victory. They had the advantage of superior numbers; on the morrow that would be changed. General A. Sidney Johnston, their commander-in-chief, was among the slain.

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The Union army in this battle numbered about 38,000, while the enemy had 45,000, under their best generals—A. S. Johnston, Beauregard, Bishop Polk, and Hardee—and the best fighting material they had in the field; but in endurance and cool, determined courage the Northern soldiers were superior, though the Southern had the more dash.

Reinforcements for the Union army began to arrive on the evening of the battle. The remainder of Buell's forces; Nelson and Crittenden's divisions, some on foot and some on steamers; two batteries of the regular army, and McCook's division, by a forced march, reached the landing early the following morning.

It was General Grant's turn now to take the offensive, and a general advance was ordered to begin at 5 o'clock the next morning. The hostile pickets were driven in and the battle became general along the whole line. At 10 A. M. the Union army was moving forward and forcing the enemy step by step from point to point, and though occasionally checked, the Union army moved steadily forward; their fire was regular as clock-work, and the divisions sustained each other admirably. At length the enemy, after repeated attempts to break through the Union lines and failing, seemed to despair of succeeding. For seven long hours they had fought valiantly. Beauregard made the most strenuous exertions and exposed himself in his efforts to prevent his army falling back toward Corinth. The pursuit was not pressed vigorously owing to the intervening woods, which impeded the movements of cavalry, and the infantry

Apr.
7.

CHAP. only pursued the retreating foe for a mile or two. The
 LIX.
 1862. enemy fell back to their entrenchments at Corinth, and Beauregard proclaimed a great Confederate victory; that was for the public, but his private dispatch to Jefferson Davis, captured at Huntsville by General O. M. Mitchel, told the true story, calling for reinforcements, and saying: "If defeated here we lose the Mississippi Valley and probably our cause."

The Union loss in killed, 1,785; wounded, 7,883; the Southern, killed, 1,728; wounded, 8,012. The enemy, for the most part, were better protected by the dense woods, as they fought on ground of their own choosing.

While these stirring events were enacting in the West a combined expedition was fitting out against New Orleans in the East, General B. F. Butler to command the land forces and Admiral D. S. Farragut the naval. Through the influence of Butler the men for the enterprise were principally enlisted in New England. The rendezvous for the troops was Ship Island, lying in the waters of the Gulf midway between Mobile and New Orleans, by way of Lake Pontchartrain, thus threatening either place. A powerful fleet of mortar boats had been fitted out at the Brooklyn Navy Yard under the direction of Captain David D. Porter. This flotilla joined the fleet off the mouth passes of the Mississippi. Mar. 16. Admiral Farragut commanded the whole armament, and Porter, under him, had control of the mortar boats. The whole fleet and transports soon passed within the passes, and gunboats acted as pickets up the river to give notice of the approach of certain iron-clads and rams and fire rafts—Apr. 4. huge barges laden with split pine over which had been poured melted pitch, rendering them highly inflammable. One of these rams, the *Manassas*, carried English rifled guns. They also had an iron-clad floating battery, the *Louisiana*, besides 18 armed steamers, some of which were protected by an armor of iron. Their naval commander, Hollins, announced that with these he would annihilate the Union fleet. An exceedingly strong chain was stretched on floats

across the channel from Fort Jackson to the opposite shore, near to Fort St. Philip. This chain was commanded by the guns of the forts. These forts—75 miles below the city—were very strong structures built by the United States Government. Fort Jackson had 120 guns and St. Philip nearly as many. In addition, the enemy had flanking batteries commanding the river for three miles, and also the approach from Lake Pontchartrain.

Arrangements completed, the Union squadron moved to the attack. Then occurred one of the most terrible cannon battles on record. Fourteen mortar-boats, throwing immense shells from the west shore, and six others on the eastern bank of the river in the swamp passages, and so covered by green bushes as to be well masked, six ships of war, and gunboats up and down the stream took part in the thunderous fray, while the forts replied with great vigor. The bombardment lasted all day; the guns in the embrasures of Fort Jackson were silenced, and also the last one on the side of St. Philip. Meanwhile Hollins sent down fire-rafts in the midst of the battle, but they did but little harm, as they were all destroyed by balls from the guns or seized by grappling irons prepared for the purpose and towed where they could harmlessly burn. At night a deserter came aboard and informed Porter of the condition of the forts. From his statement it was evident they could not be reduced for several days. This information determined Farragut to run past the forts, and orders were given to prepare for the hazardous attempt. Meantime the mortar-boats continued to throw shells into the forts.

That night two parties in boats passed up and cut the chain without being discovered, and also a boat with muffled oars passed above the forts and took soundings, finding the channel free of obstructions. This, even, the enemy did not discover, though they had large fires burning all night along the shore to prevent surprises.

Orders were passed that night from ship to ship to prepare to run the gauntlet, and at 2 o'clock in the morning

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24.

CHAP. the fleet was under way. The darkness was so great that
LIX. the sentinels at the fort did not discover the movement
1862. until the first division approached the chain, in a minute
more, and both the forts opened. This was the signal for
Porter, who, with his mortars, threw a shower of bursting
shells inside the forts, which interfered materially with
their firing; the vessels as they passed by poured in their
broadside. As they passed beyond the forts they found
themselves in the midst of hostile iron-clads and rams; the
latter butting in every direction. The Union gunboats,
generally, were able to dodge them, and in turn pay them
the compliment of a broadside. The *Cayuga*, a swift
vessel, passing through compelled three steamers to strike
their flags. The ram *Manassas* was running round butting
at anything in the smoke and darkness; finally, she ran
foul of the *Brooklyn*, which gave her a broadside with her
heavy guns, and the ram disappeared in the darkness.
Only one vessel was lost, the *Varuna*, Captain Boggs. The
career of this vessel deserves relating. The captain finding
himself "in a nest of rebel steamers" started forward, giving
broadside right and left; the first went into a steamer
crowded with troops, exploded her boilers and she drifted
ashore; afterward three other vessels were driven ashore in
flames and blown up. Then the *Varuna* was attacked by
an iron-clad ram, which raked her and butted her on the
quarter, but she managed, meantime, to plant three 8-inch
shells in the armor of her foe, and a rifle shot, when the
ram dropped out of action. At this moment another
large iron-clad, with a prow under water, struck the
Varuna in the port gangway, doing considerable damage;
then her enemy drew off and made another plunge and
struck again in the same place, crushing in her sides; now
the *Varuna* gave her antagonist five 8-inch shells; these
settled her, and she floated ashore in flames. The *Varuna*
herself was in a sinking condition; but her men were taken
off by boats from the other vessels before she went down.
All along the bank were stranded Confederate steamers and

rams, nearly all on fire from Union shots and shells; two or three steamers and the iron-clad battery *Louisiana* had escaped, and sought protection under the guns of Fort Jackson; two or three hundred prisoners were taken.

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1862.

The next day Farragut was ready to move, and the following morning the fleet steamed up the river, and after being delayed one-half hour to silence some batteries, he reached New Orleans in the afternoon, and demanded its surrender, which was complied with by the mayor. General Lovel, who was in command, before leaving the city had fired the long line of ships, steamers and flat-boats, and vast stores of cotton, tobacco and sugar—a most wanton destruction of private property, not all contraband of war. The United States public buildings were taken possession of by Union soldiers to protect them. The forts Jackson and St. Philip also capitulated when the fall of New Orleans was known. General Butler arrived and entered upon his duties as commandant of the city and vicinity. The city was garrisoned immediately—the troops marching in to the tune of “Yankee Doodle,” and order restored under the skillful and energetic rule of Butler. He prepared his proclamation and sent it to the various papers to be published. They all refused. A sufficient number of practical printers volunteered from the ranks, took possession of one of the offices, and issued the proclamation. This incident was similar to many others that occurred during this war showing the intelligence and industrial skill of the soldiers of the Union armies.

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Farragut sent the gunboat *Iroquois*, Captain Palmer, up the river to the capital of the State, Baton Rouge, which surrendered on demand; then to Natchez, Mississippi, which place surrendered; and then to Vicksburg, which was found to be fortified and garrisoned, and she refused to run up the Stars and Stripes. Her time came in due season.

May
12.

During this time Admiral Foote and General Pope were working their way down the Mississippi, capturing fortified places one after another; delayed a few days at Fort Wright,

CHAP. Chickasaw Bluffs. Here Pope was ordered to join Halleck
LIX. at Corinth; and Admiral Foote, at the imperative orders
1862. of his physician, also retired from the service on account of
Apr. wounds received in the attack on Fort Donelson. A few
12. weeks later he died, a victim of patriotic ardor, and cheerful
in the Christian's hope.

May Captain J. E. Davis succeeded Admiral Foote; shortly
10. after, he defeated a Southern fleet of iron-clads and armed
steamers under Captain Montgomery, in a conflict of thirty
minutes; Forts Wright and Pillow were abandoned by the
June enemy; this opened the way down toward Memphis. The
4. Union fleet was joined by Captain Ellet's rams of unique
construction; made out of powerful tug-boats. The whole
fleet passed down to island No. 45, two miles above Mem-
phis, off which place lay the Confederate iron-clads. At four
A.M., Captain Davis steamed down to find the enemy's fleet
June on the alert. The battle began at long range, but Ellet's
6. two rams, the *Queen of the West* and the *Monarch*, passed
rapidly by the Union gunboats, and rushed with great im-
petuosity into the midst of the Confederates, firing heavy
shots right and left, and when opportunity served plying
the enemy with hot water by means of a hose of peculiar
construction. Then came on the gunboats, and the result
of this singular contest was that only one of the ten gun-
boats of the Confederates escaped—they either being sunk
or blown up. In consequence of this destruction of their
whole fleet Memphis surrendered unconditionally.

The Confederates deemed Corinth an important strategic
point, being at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston
and Mobile and Ohio railways, but that importance was
gone as soon as the roads were cut and Memphis in the
hands of the Union forces. General Halleck assumed com-
mand after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and advanced
into the vicinity of Corinth and commenced digging paral-
lels and making approaches. Thus he spent six weeks.
May The enemy in the meantime, were leisurely carrying away
30. their war material, and when this was done they evacuated

their stronghold, while Halleck kept 120,000 men within striking distance until they were well on their way. General Pope was sent in pursuit, but captured only about 2,000 prisoners. This was the only instance, thus far, of undue tardiness in a Western army. The enemy had 47,000 men.

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We have seen the Union soldiers in the West gaining battle after battle, and in no instance failing to accomplish their ultimate object. They met the enemy in superior numbers at Pea Ridge and drove them out of Missouri, they captured Forts Henry and Donelson, and opened up the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, compelling the evacuation of that stronghold, Columbus; won the battle of Shiloh, and compelled the enemy to retire to Corinth, which in turn they were made to abandon. Along the South Atlantic coast battles had been fought, and place after place had been captured and held; an expedition against New Orleans had been eminently successful, and now, after many conflicts, the whole of the Mississippi was held from above to down below Memphis, and from its mouth up to Vicksburg. While these advances were progressing, the Army of the Potomac was chafing at their imposed inactivity, and drilling in entrenchments around the National Capital.

General McClellan had asked for men till his numbers had gradually increased in February to 222,196 names on his roll, of whom 193,142 were fit for duty. In the previous August, in a note to President Lincoln, he says: "I propose with this force to move into the heart of the enemy's country, and crush the rebellion in its very heart." Yet no movement was made. Time passed on, and McClellan did not intimate to the anxious President or Secretary of War that he had any plans of a campaign. Several conferences were held by the President and some members of his Cabinet, at one of which the President asked the Commander-in-Chief what he intended to do with his army. After a long pause, he remarked he "was very unwilling to develop his plans, but would do so if ordered." The Presi-

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 Jan. 13. dent asked if he had fixed any time in his own mind when he would move the army. The reply was, he had. "On that," rejoined the President, "I will adjourn this meeting." Yet McClellan for weeks gave no intimation of moving. At length the President felt it his duty to order a general advance of the Union armies on the 22d of February. It is a coincidence that on this day Jefferson Davis was inaugurated at Richmond President of the Confederacy for six years, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. Perhaps the President in designating this day had in mind that it was the anniversary of the birth of Washington.

Feb. 22.

Previous to this President Lincoln addressed a note to McClellan, saying, "Your plan is by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana on the York; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas. If you will give satisfactory answers to the following questions I shall gladly yield my plan to yours: Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than *mine*? Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than by mine? In fact, would it not be *less valuable* in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would? In case of disaster, would not a retreat be *more difficult* by your plan than mine?" No direct reply was made to these questions, though a report of the same date by the General-in-Chief was claimed to answer. The plan of the President and his advisers was virtually the one selected by General Grant when he advanced on Richmond.

When the Norfolk navy-yard was destroyed and fell into the hands of the enemy, the *Merrimac* steam frigate was partially burned and sunk, but was afterward raised by the enemy and made over as an iron-clad of tremendous power. From hints thrown out by their newspapers this mysterious monster became a source of great dread to the fleet in and around the lower Chesapeake and Hampton Roads.

Meanwhile Captain Ericsson was building at New York

a unique iron-clad on a new principle, his own invention. This was a revolving turret, made entirely of successive layers of wrought iron plates to the thickness of eleven inches. This turret was turned at will by steam; within it were two rifled guns throwing each an elongated shot weighing 175 pounds, and loaded by machinery; the turret had two protected port-holes, and was placed on an iron-clad hulk, the deck of which was only about three feet above the water and clear of every thing except the turret.

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For many weeks the sloop of war *Cumberland* and the frigate *Congress* had watched off Newport News for the expected monster, now called the *Virginia* by the enemy. On the morning of March 8th she suddenly steamed out from the navy yard at Gosport, and made for the *Cumberland*, but when passing by the *Congress* gave her a broadside, doing much damage. The *Cumberland* had a heavy armament of 9 and 10-inch Dahlgren guns, and she poured in her broadsides with precision; but these heavy balls glanced harmlessly off the sloping sides of the *Merrimac*, while one of her solid shots tore through the wooden sloop's bulwarks. The *Cumberland's* men fought desperately, warping round their vessel to give effective broadsides; presently the *Merrimac* rushed at full speed upon the *Cumberland* and pierced her hull below the water line, making a hole four feet in diameter, and crushing in the frigate's upper decks, still pouring in solid shot and making a horrible slaughter on the crowded decks. Of the 450 men on board not a man wavered in this presence of death; their vessel was fast filling; in five minutes the water reached the berth deck where lay the dying and wounded. It was seen by her officers that the vessel must sink; at the last moment a salute was fired in honor of their country's flag; hardly had this been done when the ship gave a lurch and disappeared under the water. More than 300 of these brave fellows perished, the remainder were picked up by boats which put off from shore.

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8.

Meanwhile the *Congress* was engaged with the *Merrimac*.

CHAP. *mac's* two steam tenders—the *Jamestown* and the *Patrick*
 LIX. *Henry*. She was towed into shallow water and grounded,
 1862. but not out of reach of the *Merrimac's* guns, which soon
 Apr. disabled every gun on board the frigate and set her on fire.
 6. Lieutenant Pendegrast hauled down his flag to spare further
 slaughter. An officer from the *Merrimac* boarded the
Congress and received the surrender, but when on his way
 back some persons on the shore fired rifles upon his tug.
 When he returned the *Merrimac* shelled the shore and
 resumed fire upon the helpless *Congress*, whose men were
 not responsible for the firing from the shore. It was a most
 unwarrantable slaughter of innocent men. The *Congress*
 was set on fire by these shells and burned until the maga-
 zine was exploded; 150 men were lost. The *Merrimac*
 now made for the steam frigate *Minnesota*, which, when
 coming to engage in the conflict, had grounded three miles
 away. The commander of the *Merrimac*, afraid of getting
 into shallow water, contented himself by firing a few shots
 at long range which did little harm. The Southern iron-
 clad withdrew at seven in the evening to renew her work of
 destruction in the morning, which was to sink or destroy
 every ship of war in the roads, and then what could she not
 do? The seaboard cities would be at her mercy. No
 wonder this was a night of gloom in the Roads and of
 anxiety all over the land, whither the telegraph had carried
 the news of these disasters.

Just after the *Merrimac* disappeared a singular looking
 craft appeared in the offing; it was the Ericsson invention
 —the *Monitor*—of which we have just spoken. She
 reported for duty and took her position near the *Minne-
 sota*.

Early Sunday morning the *Merrimac* was seen coming
 from behind Sewall's Point. She ran down near the Rip
 Raps, then turned and ran for the grounded frigate, whose
 heavy stern guns gave her their solid shot. The *Monitor*—
 designated by the sailors as a cheese-box on a raft—ran
 down to meet the monster, which seemed to look askance

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at the little craft, and threw a shot at her, as if to say, Get out of the way or you may be hurt ; but instead, placing herself between the *Minnesota* and her antagonist, she paid her respects by a solid shot of 175 pounds. The *Merrimac* now turned with her broadsides against the turret, but without effect. The *Monitor's* two guns deliberately put in their shot. The *Merrimac* attempted to run down her little antagonist, and only once grazed her. The nimble *Monitor* was under such perfect control that she would dodge her enemy, and as she passed regularly gave her a shot. The *Merrimac* now gave up the attempt to run the craft down, but turned her attention to the *Minnesota*, but the *Monitor* again interposed by placing herself between the combatants ; and the *Merrimac*, to get rid of her, stood down the bay, the *Monitor* pursuing. Presently the *Merrimac* turned and ran full speed at her pursuer, which dodged her enemy, and, as she passed, plunged a shot into her iron roof. The *Merrimac* soon turned and made for Sewall's Point, pursued for some distance by the *Monitor* ; but as the latter had orders only to act on the defensive, she withdrew as soon as the victory was won. It has never transpired how much injury the *Merrimac* received. It is certain, however, she no more ventured out from her anchorage, where she was carefully guarded by land batteries, and in the end was blown to pieces lest she should fall into Federal hands. Thus ended the most influential naval duel that ever occurred, as it revolutionized the naval warfare of the world. All the naval powers now began to build iron-clads and virtually throw aside wooden men-of-war. The United States Government also began to build monitors of various sizes, some very large, and soon had a fleet of iron-clads more powerful than the war fleets of all the world combined.

May
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At the last broadside of the *Merrimac*, Captain Worden, the commander of the *Monitor*, was in the pilot-house, and when looking through the eye-crevice a heavy shot struck the house and the concussion knocked him senseless. When

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consciousness returned, the fight was over and all was silent. He anxiously asked, "Have I saved the frigate?"

"Aye, aye, and whipped the *Merrimac*," was the answer. "Then I care not what becomes of me," said he.

When the firing on Sumter took place, the great majority of the loyal people of the free States, and the officers of the National Government, had hitherto complied faithfully with the spirit of the Constitution, and of the laws of Congress in respect to the rendition of fugitive slaves. Even when it was known that more than a thousand of that class had been for weeks repairing fortifications, throwing up earthworks, and mounting guns against Fort Sumter, yet the loyal people did not realize that by this act the relation of the slaves to the Union had been changed. So strong was the influence of law, that for some time after the war began the slaves who fled in search of freedom to the Federal armies were returned to their masters as fugitives. It was the Abolitionists alone who were decidedly opposed to this policy. The loyal people of the free States had not yet been educated up to that plane, nor to that of utilizing these fugitives for the cause of the Union. Masters would come to the camps of the Federal army and demand their slaves under the famous Fugitive Slave Bill; and these demands were complied with by the generals of Democratic sympathies, with one marked exception—that of Benjamin F. Butler, in command at Fortress Monroe. That shrewd lawyer-general took in the situation; he refused to surrender them, taking the military view that these fugitives were "*contraband of war*." This decision covered the case; for it was well known that the slaves, by their labor on fortifications and otherwise, were more efficient aiders of the Confederacy than if they were actually in the field. The term "*contraband*" became during the war the popular designation of such fugitives. Butler put these men to work and paid them wages.





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